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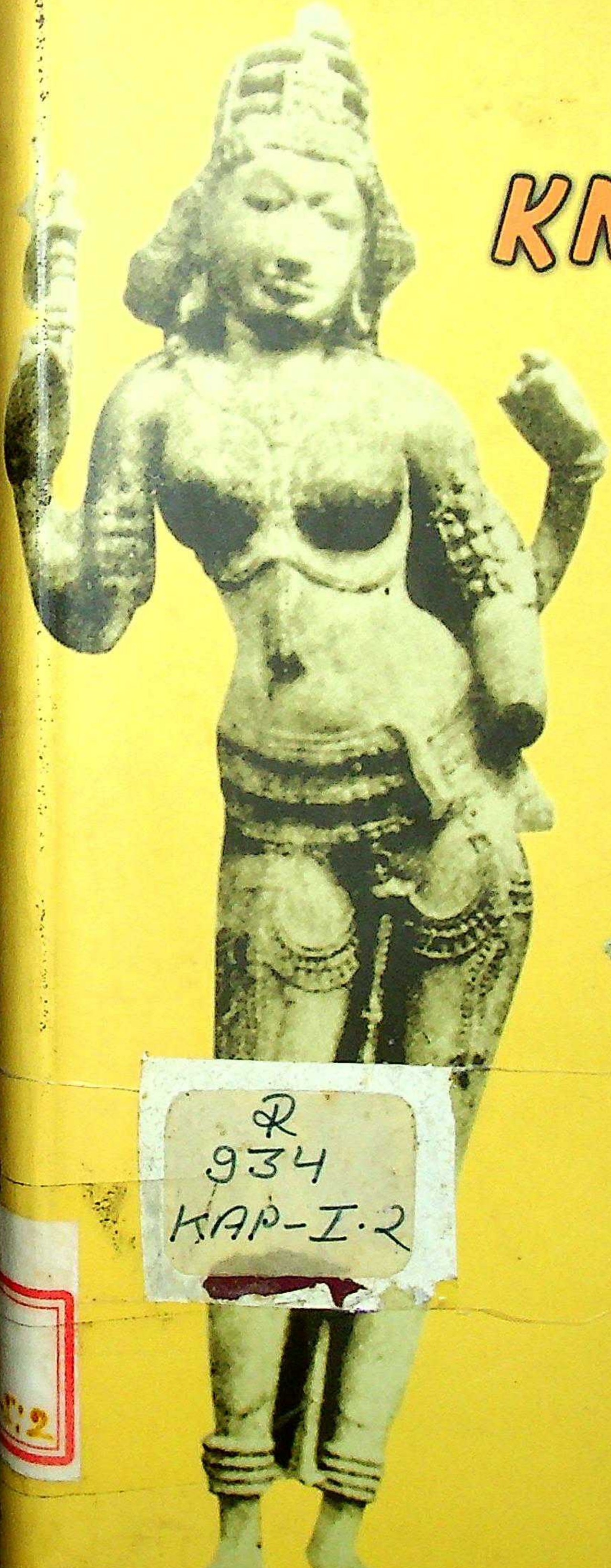

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लेखक Kapoor, Kapil

शीर्षक Indian Knowledge Systems

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कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
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Volume – 2

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

Editors
Kapil Kapoor
Avadhesh Kumar Singh

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Key to Transliteration

VOWELS

अ *a*	आ *ā*	इ *i*	ई *ī*	उ *u*	ऊ *ū*
(but)	(palm)	(it)	(beet)	(put)	(pool)
ऋ *ṛ*	ए *e*	ऐ *ai*	ओ *o*	औ *au*	
(rhythm)	(play)	(air)	(toe)	(loud)	

CONSONANTS

Guttural	क *ka*	ख* *kha*	ग *ga*	घ *gha*	ङ *ṅa*
	(skate)	(blockhead)	(gate)	(ghost)	(sing)
Palatal	च *ca*	छ* *cha*	ज *ja*	झ *jha*	ञ *ña*
	(chunk)	(catch him)	(john)	(hedgehog)	(bunch)
Lingual	ट *ṭa*	ठ* *ṭha*	ड *ḍa*	ढ* *ḍha*	ण* *ṇa*
	(start)	(anthill)	(dart)	(godhead)	(under)
Dental	त *ta*	थ *tha*	द *da*	ध* *dha*	न *na*
	(path)	(thunder)	(that)	(breathe)	(numb)
Labial	प *pa*	फ* *pha*	ब *ba*	भ *bha*	म *ma*
	(spin)	(philosophy)	(bin)	(abhor)	(much)
Others	य *ya*	र *ra*	ल *la*	व *va*	
	(young)	(drama)	(luck)	(vile)	
	श *śa*	ष *ṣa*	स *sa*	ह *ha*	
	(shove)	(bushel)	(so)	(hum)	
	क्ष *kṣa*	त्र *tra*	ज्ञ *jña*	ळ* ḷ	ॠ* *ṝ*
	(*kṣatriya*)	(*trishūl*)	(*jñāni*)	(*play*)	

अं (ं)*ṁ anusvāra* (nasalisation of preceding vowel) like *saṁskṛti*

अः *ḥ* (*prātaḥ*) *ḥ visarga* (aspiration of preceding vowel)

ऽ 'Avagraha' consonant #'consonant (like:- *ime 'vasthitā*)

Anusvāra at the end of line is presented by म् = m (not ṁ)

HINDI LETTERS (Extras)

ँ *ñ*	ं ṅ	ड़* *ṛa*	ढ़* *ṛha*
(*candrabindu*)	(*anusvāra*)		

* No exact English equivalents for these letters.

Part V
Aesthetics and Poetics

19

Alam Brahma

Agni Purāṇa 339.1

Rewaprasad Dwevedi

"AHAM Brahma" is a famous *mahāvākya* of all the Vedānta. But there is an amazing *mahāvākya* available in the *Agni Purāṇa*, that is "Alam Brahma" and the following,

> *akṣaram paramam brahma sanātanamalam vibhum* ।
> *vedānteṣu vadantyekam caitanyam jyotirīśvaram* ॥ 339.1

is the source of this *mahāvākya*. In this statement one may take *Brahman* as subject (*uddeśya*) having all other epithets as predicate for it. So following would be the meaning of the sentence: "what is known as *Parama Brahman* is called by other terms like *akṣara* — not demisable, *sanātana* — ever present, *alam* — sufficing or complete, *vibhu* — omnipresent, *caitanya* — conscious, *jyotiṣa* — light and *īśvara* — almighty. The terms *caitanya* and *jyotiṣa* can be compounded as *caitanya-jyoti*.

Among these epithets for the history of Indian aesthetics the term *alam* is very much important. The aesthetics has been termed as *Alaṁkāraśāstra* : a discipline which is applicable to the element called *alaṁkāra*. We know that the history of *Alaṁkāraśāstra* in India starts with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatmuni who flourished before the famous poet and dramatist Kālidāsa who remembers Bharata and his theory of eight *rasa* in his famous play *Vikramorvaśīyam*:

> *muninā bharatena yaḥ prayogo bhavatīṣvaṣṭarasāśrayo nibaddhaḥ* ।
> *lalitābhinayan tamadya bhartā marutān draṣṭumanāḥ salokapālaḥ* ॥
> — *Vik.* 2.17

The theories of *Nāṭyaśāstra* have been followed by the first aesthetician Daṇḍin in his work known as *Kāvyādarśa* and also by all the later writers up to this time. It is a dishearting fact that among all the aestheticians, none has taken the above *mahāvākya* of *Agni Purāṇa* into account. So also the modern scholars like Mm. P.V. Kane, Dr. S.K. De, V. Raghavan (494) and Dāsgupta could not pick this statement up in their books on the history of Sanskrit poetics, etc. Mm. Kane and Prof. Raghavan have given the above verse room in their work but with the variant reading *aja* for the term *alam*. Now the door is closed for dealing with *alaṁkāra*. At the same time the Nirṇayasāgara edition of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* published the text of *Agni Purāṇa* with the "Alam" in 1936 in its appendices from the same city Bombay. Mm. Kane was alive at that time and published his *History of Sanskrit Poetics* in 1951. He had worked upon *Sāhityadarpaṇa* also. But it is a matter of sorrow that this term (*alam*) did not flash to him even after fifteen years lapsed since the Nirṇayasāgara edition published in 1936. On the other hand, *Agni Purāṇa* dealt with poetics and dramaturgy in detail. Therefore the reading *alam* available to them must have been honoured without hesitation.

The term *alam* is capable to pervade all the elements which are enumerated as the generators of *camatkāra* like *guṇa*, *lakṣaṇā*, figures of speech like *upamā*, *vṛtti* and *rīti*.

Luckily the current of this all-pervasive meaning of *ala* term has been going on being repeated in the history of Sanskrit Poetics up to the seventeenth century of Paṇḍitarāja and thereafter till today. Abhinavagupta had explained the *alaṁkāra* word of the *vṛtti* in the last but one verse of *Dhvanyāloka* — *ityakliṣṭa-rasāśrayocita-guṇālaṅkāra-śobhābhṛto* (551) like this in his *Locana*:

> *iti kārikā-tadvṛtti-nirūpaṇaprakāreṇetyarthaḥ* ।
> *akliṣṭa rasāśrayeṇa ucitā ye guṇālaṅkāras tato yā śobhā tām bibharti kāvyam* ॥
> *udyānamapyakliṣṭaḥ kālocito yo rasaḥ sekādikṛtaḥ tadāśrayaḥ* ।
> *tatkṛto yo guṇānām saukumārya-c-chāyā-vattva-saugandhya-prabhṛtīnām alaṅkāraḥ*
> *paryāptatākaraṇam, tena ca yā śobhā tām bibharti* ॥ — 551

It is to note that even in the intellect of Abhinavagupta the general sense: *paryāpti* of the term *alaṁkāra* had flashed out, even though he could not apply the same meaning to the same word *alaṁkāra* in the context of *kāvya*. How it is so, is beyond the bounds of conjecture.

The history of *alaṁkāra* term speaks in favour of the importance of *alam* term from the time of the *Ṛgveda* wherein the term *alam* is used recurrently in the sense of *paryāpti*, yet the rhetoricians could not draw their attention towards the same. They undertook the latter half *kāra* of the term *alaṁkāra* for grammatical etymology and discussed its root and suffix alone. Ornamentation is the main meaning for which *alaṁkāra* word is understood in the Sanskrit poetics. On the other hand, it is undertaken by all the poeticians that to reach the stage of *alaṁkāratva* every figure of speech invariably should be capable to create *camatkāra* that is but *ānanda.* "My book is valuable like yours" is the statement which is bearing all the four parts of the figure of speech called *upamā* but they do not create *camatkāra* hence are limited up to *upmātva* and do not reach the stage of *upamālaṁkāratva.* But when one utters "the face of Śakuntalā is as lustrous as the globe of moon of the full moonnight" the device *alaṁkāratva* is readily available due to the *camatkāra* generated from the poetic statement. What is the speciality of *ānanda*? The final and ultimate reply on this issue is nothing else but *ātman* that is *Brahman.* Consequently *alaṁkāra* term is also running in the direction of *Brahman* in practice. All the other specialities called *rasa, guṇa,* etc., have also been counted by the Indian poeticians under the heading *alaṁkāra* in the sense of characteristics which give the rank of poetry to any lingual statement. All the figures of speech are put into three categories by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇālaṁkāra.*

> *vakroktīśca rasoktiśca svabhāvoktiśca vāṅ mayam — SK, 5.8*

Of all these three *rasokti* is regarded as the most attractive. Here the sense of *alaṁkāra* is taken from the term *ukti.* Though the poeticians of Kashmir or of the *dhvani* school declared that *rasa* is suggested alone and they have refuted any kind of the *abhidhā* of *rasa* yet their declaration is limited up to the sense of taste of *rasa.* At the same time the *rasa* term is used in the sense of the thing that is tasted like *pānakarasa* or *ikṣurasa.* It is only a liquid which gives the taste of our choice. When Bhoja thinks of the *ukti* of *rasa* he at once subjects the group of things called *vibhāva, anubhāva,* etc., which are found only in the body of poetry or any kind of art. The painting of Mṛtyuñjaya Śiva [preserved in Bharat Kala Bhawan and printed in my work *Sāhityaśārīrakam*] is very much attractive. In the field of poetics it would very well be accepted as *vibhāva* for *śānta rasa.* At the same time one may have the idea of Bhoja's poem *Acchinnamekhalam,* etc., in the field of icons as the *ardhanārīśvara* icon. That would be the *vibhāva* of the *rasa* called *śṛṅgāra.* These paintings and icons are equally capable to create *rasa* through their own specialities and the specific capacity is their own.

The term *alam* is taken as the synonym of *Brahman* in the *Agni Purāṇa,* which is very much significant and welcome for the students of Poetics.

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20

Salvation by Knowledge: Ananda Coomaraswamy and the Tradition of Indian Aesthetics

Chandrashekhar Jahagirdar

I

ONE reason why the figure of Ananda Coomaraswamy looms large in any discussion of Indian knowledge systems is the fact that his concern with aesthetics was not just an academic one, but a total one. Aesthetics for Coomaraswamy was only a part — though of course a major part — of his total concerns which included architecture, music, iconography, painting, sculpture, literature, and of course art-history. These concerns were in turn deeply embedded in his vision of culture, society and philosophy. He can therefore be described as a great product of the Indian Renaissance who exemplifies, in unambiguous terms, a major dimension of Indian knowledge systems in holistic terms by exploring the deeper implications of arts, aesthetics, culture, society and tradition at a time when India was facing the onslaught of Western culture during the colonial period. More than anyone else, it is Coomaraswamy who provided theories of art and aesthetics in relation to a fundamental and highly perceptive critique of modern culture, society and tradition. The present paper therefore tries to reconsider the Indian knowledge system of aesthetics by using Ananda Coomaraswamy as a gravitational centre.

II

Coomaraswamy placed his entire theory of art and aesthetics in the context of a general theory of culture, society and tradition. This naturally leads one to a double bind which is consistently present in all his intellectual enterprise. Coomaraswamy was involved in providing a critique of modern, industrial

Western society and was at the same time deeply committed to the task of bringing out, explaining and sometimes staunchly defending the best that was in Indian culture and society. With his tremendous scholarship spanning the diverse intellectual traditions of the East and the West, Coomaraswamy was presumably the most qualified Renaissance scholar to undertake this task. Let us therefore sum up his views on Indian society and culture before we try to relate them to his theory of art and aesthtics.

In his essay "What has India Contributed to Human Welfare" Coomaraswamy (1948: 22) says, "The Hindus grasped more firmly than others, the fundamental meaning and purpose of life, and more deliberately than others, organized society with a view to the attainment of fruit of life." At this point, after acknowledging the contribution of Buddhism by saying that it is very difficult to separate what is Buddhist from what is Indian generally and that Buddhism did have deep and lasting effects on Indian statecraft, Coomaraswamy does make a distinction between Hinduism and Buddhism by pointing out that Buddhists never directly attempted to organize human society. Their concern was not so much with polity as with the supreme happiness of deliverance from the eternal recurrence. Hinduism in contrast made religious philosophy the essential and intelligible basis of popular culture and national polity. That is why, says Coomaraswamy, idealism in politics is an important aspect of ancient Hindu thought, unlike the modern politician who considers that "idealism in politics is unpractical." Given its basic science of the self (*adhyātma-vidyā*), Indian culture recognizes the unity of all life and views the realization of this unity as the highest "good, bliss, salvation, freedom, the final purpose of life." "This inseparable unity of the material and spiritual world," says Coomaraswamy, "is the foundation of the Indian culture and determines the character of her social ideals" (*Ibid*.: 27).

This view of Indian culture, as telescoping of the spiritual and material, leads Coomaraswamy to what he himself calls "religious sociology." It is in terms of this religious sociology, then, that he examines certain aspects of the Indian social order based on religion and philosophy. In his essay, "Status of Indian Women," Coomaraswamy observes:

> Hindu society was based on the basis of group morality. It is true that no absolute ethic is held binding on all classes alike; but within a given class the freedom of the individual is subordinated to the interests of the group, the concept of duty is paramount. —123

Given these premises about the individual and society, it is but logical for Coomaraswamy to elaborate on the Indian *satī* practice by saying that she exemplifies a sacrifice which is spiritually as significant as that of a patriot's for his country. He privileges motherhood by saying, "it is the function or nature of women, as a group — not necessarily in every individual case — in general to be mothers alike in spiritual and physical senses" (125). Finally, he sums up his argument in this context by saying that the so-called feminist is as much enslaved by masculine ideals, as the so-called Indian nationalist is enslaved by European Ideals.

Equally interesting are Coomaraswamy's views on the caste system. He says that in the caste system,

> the lines are drawn at once ethically and culturally (not pecuniarily) [and it] represents an integration (not a division) of society in vocational groups internally democratic, and outwardly answerable to other groups, only for the fulfillment of their own function. —168

III

The foregoing account sums up Coomaraswamy's views on Indian society, culture, and tradition. It is obvious that some of his views may not be acceptable today. What he says about the *satī* need not find acceptance today. Though we must hasten to add that Coomaraswamy himself makes a distinction between the passion and devotion underlying the original practice of *satī* and the degenerate social convention it turned into when pressure was put on unwilling individuals, and welcomes the ban on the *satī* practice introduced in 1829 on the initiative of Raja Rammohun Roy. Even then it is true that there is a certain degree of unwarranted idealization in Coomaraswamy's defence of the *satī*. Similarly, what he says about the caste system can be accepted only as an explanation of its continuation and certainly not as a defence of it. There are thus some obvious areas of disagreements with Coomaraswamy when it comes to certain details of the Indian social order.

Coomaraswamy's sociological writings, most of which belong to the early phase of his career, have been described by his American biographer, Roger Lipsey, as romantic and sentimental. Lipsey also contends that there is a strong influence of William Morris during this phase. I do not find these writings romantic and sentimental; nor do I see Coomaraswamy as an Indian version of William Morris. On the contrary, it seems to me that Coomaraswamy's description of the Indian social order is relevant today for two reasons: (1) it constitutes the basis of a theory of art which remains essentially Indian, and (2) it opens up the possibility of reacquainting ourselves with a vibrant, Indian knowledge system. The implications of these statements are developed in the argument that follows.

One way of coming to terms with the knowledge system that Coomaraswamy exemplifies is to examine his views on Indian culture and society in the context of his views on modern Western civilization and culture. In the first place, Coomaraswamy is highly critical of the industrial civilization of Europe which is based on the principles of competition, *laissez-faire* and excessive individualism. His sociological writings reveal a kind of angst in relation to the impact of industrial, modern, culture of Europe on an ancient civilization like India. He feels that a civilization such as that of India, will suffer a great loss if it is unduly influenced by industrial Europe. As he puts it:

> We must not judge of Indian society, especially Indian society in its present decline, as if it actually realized the Brahmanical social ideas; yet even with all its imperfections Hindu society as it survives will appear to many to be superior to any form of social organization attained on a large scale anywhere else, and infinitely superior to the social order which we know as "modern civilization". —22

Given this critique of modern, industrial Europe, it is not surprising that Coomaraswamy is deeply disturbed by the possibility of India being culturally subdued by Europe. And he expresses this anxiety with great rhetorical flourish by saying, "have you ever thought that India, politically and economically free, but subdued by Europe in her inmost soul, is scarcely an ideal to be dreamt of, or to live, or die, for?" (Coomaraswamy 1923: 3). What disturbs Coomaraswamy is the feeling expressed at so many places in his writings that the continuity of Indian culture has suffered a rupture because of the influence of the West. As a result of this rupture, modern India has lost her contact with knowledge systems, her rich complex tradition and has ended up as a strange mixture of the East and the West. Witness the following observation:

> It is hard to realize how completely the continuity of Indian life has been severed. A single generation of English education suffices to break the threads of tradition and to create a nondescript and superficial being deprived of all roots — a sort of intellectual pariah who does not belong to the east or the

> west, the past or the future. The greatest danger for India is the loss of her spiritual integrity. — Coomaraswamy 1948 : 170

Essentialism is an example of bad faith in contemporary critical discourses. One might therefore question Coomaraswamy's description of Indian culture *vis-à-vis* Western culture as being "essentialist." I believe however that Coomaraswamy's approach is anything but essentialist. He makes this very clear when he talks about India's contribution to the world:

> If now we ask what is most distinctive in this essential contribution, we must first make it clear that there cannot be anything absolutely unique in the experience of any race. Its peculiarities will be chiefly a matter of selection and emphasis, certainly not a difference in specific humanity. — 21

Elsewhere he says,

> Nothing is further from my thoughts than that absurd notion which is expressed in the not uncommon saying, "that our ancestors were civilized when Europeans were 'dressed' in woad. . . . Nor do I mean that we should never assimilate or adopt any foreign idea or custom. On the contrary, I believe that in such things as music and the plastic arts, and still more in sociology, we have very much to learn from others as well as to recover from our own past. . . . — Coomaraswamy 1923 : 17

It is thus clear that Coomaraswamy does not project a nostalgic, essentialist view of Indian culture. Nor is he averse to things we need to borrow from the West. What he finds absolutely necessary in this entire historical process of the cultural interface between India and the West is the recovery of our past. It is this recovery of past in which the spiritual (which for Coomaraswamy also includes the sensuous) and the material meet a point of convergence. Right at the heart of colonialism, Coomaraswamy reflects a post-colonial perception in terms of which he asks for a reconsideration of Indian history with a strong emphasis on its native bias. That in this process he is drawn more to pre-industrial India than to colonial, industrial India is but logical. From a historical, materialist point of view, this logic may seem to be inadequate, because it underplays the role of science, technology and modernity. But from a cultural point of view, it takes us closer to our knowledge systems which, because of modernity, colonialism and Westernization have receded into a distant, almost inaccessible past.

IV

Coomaraswamy's "religious sociology" to use his own phrase, is thus significant because it forms the very basis of his art theory in which his constant endeavour is to define and evolve norms and parameters specific to the very nature of Indian art. Coomaraswamy thus rejects a universalist position which can only be cloudy and nebulous. More importantly for us, he also rejects in unambiguous terms a Euro-centric position. This is because Coomaraswamy believes that each national tradition of art has its own character, its own *svabhāva* in terms of which it should be judged and appreciated. This privileging of *svabhāva* is very central to Coomaraswamy's theory of art and aesthetics and informs practically all his writings on the subject.

I have neither the competence nor the authority to discuss and examine Coomaraswamy's scholarly analysis, interpretation and evaluation of architecture, temple architecture, Mogul and Rājasthānī paintings, iconography and sculpture. This is best left to the experts in the concerned fields. However what strikes even a non-expert is the way in which Coomaraswamy, in his interpretation and evaluation of various Indian arts, reveals a constant concern with the possibility of evolving parameters and norms for defining Indianness in Indian terms. It is from this point of view that I modestly propose to cite and discuss some prominent examples.

In an essay entitled "Indian Images with many Arms," Coomaraswamy comes down heavily on Vincent Smith, Maskell and George Birdwood who describe many-armed images found in Indian temples as "hideous and monstrous." He locates the inherent inability of these Western art historians to appreciate Indian art of this kind in their insistence on the representative nature of art. By way of refutation, Coomaraswamy contends that "art is not always representative (true to nature)." It is true to experience and feeling. Besides, says Coomaraswamy,

> whatever in a work of art is ostensibly representative must be judged according to the logic of the world it represents — even if this world be no other than the idea-world of the *sādhanās* and *dhyāna mantrams*. All worlds are idea-worlds of one kind or another, and we should also remember that recognition does not necessarily imply any real knowledge of things in themselves.
>
> — Coomaraswamy 1948 : 101

In yet another essay entitled "On the study of Indian Art", Coomaraswamy makes his position very clear:

> Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the scientific study of Indian art lies in the modern conception of art as essentially imitative. . . . Oriental art as a whole does not aim at the reproduction of the facts of nature, objectively considered; its aim is suggestion, selection, emphasis, design — the representation not of objective but of subjective fact. — Coomaraswamy 1923 : 67

In rejecting the Aristotelian notion of representation or mimesis as not being central to Indian art, Coomaraswamy provides an important norm for appreciating it. Nor does he say that it is entirely symbolic. Coomaraswamy's contention is that symbolism, naturalism, impressionism which are different forms of modern art are only *rasābhāsa*, shadows of reality, not reality itself. Given this view, according to which Indian art is non-representational in that the ideal is realized in the reality projected by art, it is not surprising that Coomaraswamy uses terms like intuition and expression in his own way. Intuition means "intellect extending beyond the range of dialectic that of the eternal reasons." Expression does not mean achieving likeness, it means that which generates contemplation helped by the power of imagination which "harmonizes the materials and recreates a whole." Art embodies certain archetypes that emanate from perennial philosophy. Perennial philosophy is the philosophy which is found in the Upaniṣads, in the great Indian epics and in the writings of the great mystics. In summing his views on the relationship between art and perennial philosophy, Coomaraswamy once again reiterates his plea of norms and values specific to each tradition of art :

> All art interprets life; it is like the Vedas, eternal, independent of the accidental conditions of those who see and hear. Hence, if one should say that he is touched by the Italian and not by the Chinese primitives, or by Greek and not by the Egyptian or Indian sculpture, we understand that he has done no more than accept a formula. It is the habit of accepting formulas which makes it so often possible for one form of truth to be used in denial of all others. . . .
> — Coomaraswamy 1913 : 57-58

Coomaraswamy's espousal of Indian art in terms of its native bias of idealism, spiritual truth and its rootedness in perennial philosophy does not make him indulge in obfuscation and mystification. On the contrary, it enables him to perceive with exceptional sensitivity its earthy details, its specific locale and its local/regional identity. This is best seen in his exposition of Rajput paintings. The art of Rājpūt paintings, he says:

> is essentially true to human nature, but it makes no pretence to realism. It is the exact counterpart of contemporary Indian poetry, and this is how it should

> be, for all true painting is a sort of poetry. It belongs to a time when the fantastic notion of representation as the highest aim or art had not even been imagined in the East. . . . — Coomaraswamy 1923 : 80

The same discriminating sensitivity of perception, coupled with the privileging of pre-modern art over a modern one, is seen in the concluding paragraph of Coomaraswamy's brilliant essay "Night Effects in Indian Pictures" in which he discusses a painting called "The Bride." Coomaraswamy writes:

> The picture is of utmost delicate and romantic loveliness and purity. There is a haunting charm in the gentle shyness of the bride as she is led by a friend, perhaps even elder wife, to the bridal chamber. We may almost hear the wild beating of her heart and feel the tremulous touch of her red-stained fingers. A sleepy servant awaits them with a torch and scent-spray. The light of the torch throws a deep shadow behind the advancing buildings' figures. The white marble buildings glisten in the moonlight. The whole picture bears the spell of that strange serenity and recollectedness, that so distinguish the old life of India, and survive so little in the life of non-rhythmic haste and hideousness into which it is so quickly changing. Perhaps it would not be possible to overvalue an art that brings so clear a message of calm and peace as do these romantic and religious Hindu pictures — a message from the time which we, taking an external view, sometimes think of as less peaceful and less civilized than our own. — 93

How insistent Coomaraswamy was on the native bias of Indian art is seen in the debate he had with Monroe Beardsley and W.K. Wimsatt. Generations of students of English studies in India have been brought up on Wimsatt and Beardsley's theory of the intentional fallacy which attacks the criticism of a work of art in terms of the relation between intention and result and according to which the critic's task is to evaluate the work in terms of what it ought to be rather than what the author intended it to be. Marshalling his argument from various sources — both Western and Indian — Coomaraswamy defends the intention-based criticism by suggesting — in contrast to intention and result — a series of other binary pairs such as concept and product, form and figure, art in the artist and artefact. He turns the tables on Beardsley and Wimsatt by saying that interpretation of a work of art in terms of what an author must have thought can go wrong only if the critic has identified, "not himself with the author, but the author with himself and is really telling us not what the author must have meant but what he would have liked the author to mean" (Coomaraswamy 1986 : 283). With firm conviction, Coomaraswamy maintains that "the only possible literary evaluation of an already existent and extant work of art is one in terms of the ratio of intention to result." Significantly enough, Coomaraswamy supports his argument against the theory of the intentional fallacy by saying in a footnote that to believe that an artist does not know what it is he wants to do is an *ahetuvāda* that "would stultify all rational effort and that could only be justified by a purely mechanical theory of inspiration or automatism that excludes the possibility of intelligent cooperation on the artist's part" (275). Coomaraswamy's debate with Beardsley and Wimsatt once again brings out his superb ability to argue very convincingly from the premises of Indian art theory.

In his essay "Education in Ceylon," Coomaraswamy writes:

> I was not bred on the Indian soil, yet now when I go about among my friends in India, I often find that they quarrel with me because I am much too Indian in my ways of thinking for their anglicized tastes. . . .
>
> — Coomaraswamy : 1998 : 149

In a significant way, the quotation foregrounds the essential aspect of Coomaraswamy's contribution to the Indian knowledge system in general and to aesthetics and art theory in particular. As I have already said, Coomaraswamy's privileging of pre-modern Indian art was not just a nostalgic return to the past; nor was it a sentimental, blind kind of nativism. Far from it, it was a conscious, deliberate attempt to recover the best that was in our tradition because this best was lost sight of under the impact of modernization and Westernization. He knew what this tradition, as against modernity, had given to the millions of illiterates in this country — a vital sense of life, tolerance and understanding. As he says elsewhere in the essay mentioned above:

> I do not think that universal Board School Education in India and Ceylon will do for the illiterate peasants what the works of Valmiki and Tulsidas and Kamban and Manikka Vacagar have already indirectly or directly done for them throughout that great continent. — 143

Given the impact of modernization and Westernization on our knowledge systems, it is ironic and sad to find that Coomaraswamy has never been a part of the mainstream of literary and aesthetic studies in this country. I do not know about other languages, but Marāṭhī has had a powerful tradition of books of aesthetics right from the forties. B.S. Mardhekar's *Soundarya Ani Sahitya* (translated into English as *Arts and Man*), Patankar's *Saundarya Mīmāṁsa*, and Prabhakar Padhye's *Saundaryānubhava* are some of the major examples. But surprisingly, none of them have made so much as even a passing reference to Coomaraswamy. When it comes to theorization, these books abound in quotations from Kant, Croce, Langer, Osborne, G.E. Moore, Wittgenstein and a host of other Western authorities. Similarly, there has also been a tradition of books expounding Indian aesthetics as seen in the works of Raghavan, Pande, Kane, G.T. Deshpande, to mention a few major names. But Coomaraswamy towers above all these because his commitment was not confined only to explication of Indian aesthetics and art theory; nor was he trying to popularize and export these things to Western readers. He waged a relentless war against modernity and Westernization to recover and reinvent the Indian knowledge system of aesthetics and art. From 1917 until his death in 1947, he lived in America. But he never allowed his diasporic identity to subdue his native identity. Compare this with Salman Rushdie who says, reminding one of Macauly, that with the lone exception of Sadat Hussan Munto, there is no literature in Indian languages worth the name.

All our critical discourse today is dominated by the privileged notions of difference, rupture, diaspora, fragmentation, internationalization and hybridization of culture. At a time like this, a return to Coomaraswamy could certainly be a return to a sane sense of unity, tradition and culture. In his obituary essay on Coomaraswamy, Eric Schroeder rightly described Coomaraswamy as one who believed in "salvation by knowledge." It is only a scholar like Coomaraswamy who, because he believed in salvation by knowledge, can open our doors of perception by taking us close to the Indian Knowledge Systems.

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Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana's Veda of Life

Kavita A. Sharma

MAHĀBHĀRATA begins with a description of the writing of the epic. It is projected as the fifth Veda containing within it all that there is in the four Vedas. Its author is Veda Vyāsa who has already done the revolutionary act of dividing the one Veda into four in view of the approaching *kaliyuga* when men's intelligence would not be able to grasp the entire Veda at once. Several questions arise. One, why does Veda Vyāsa find it necessary to create the fifth Veda when he has already done what is required according to the needs of the time? What is the significance of the Vedas and what is in them that needs to be preserved for the future ages and communicated to them. Who composed the Vedas and what was their mode of composition. How is Vyāsa qualified to create his own Veda and what is his method of communicating and writing it? What are his successes and failures as both the creator of and protagonist in the *Mahābhārata*?

Composition of Mahābhārata

The nature of *Mahābhārata* is made clear at the very beginning of the Ādi-Parva. Śaunaka *ṛṣi* asks Sauti to recite the "sacred history called the *Mahābhārata*, spreading the fame of the Pāṇḍavas, which Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, asked by Janmejaya, caused to be duly recited after the completion of the sacrifice. . . . That history hath been born of the ocean like mind of the great *ṛṣi* of soul purified by Yoga."[1] What are the credentials of Vyāsa? Born of Parāśara *ṛṣi*,

> . . . the illustrious one developed by his will alone his body as soon as he was born, and mastered the Vedas with their branches, and all the histories and he readily obtained that which no one could obtain by asceticism, by the study of the Vedas, by vows, by fasts, by progeny, and by sacrifice. And the

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[1] Kisari Mohan Ganguli (tr.), *Mahābhārata*, "Ādi-Parva," Section LIX, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998; p. 116. All citations from *Mahābhārata* are taken from this text.

> first of Veda-knowing ones, he divided the Vedas into four parts. And the Brahmana Rishi had knowledge of the supreme Brahma, knew the past by intuition, was holy and cherished the truth.[2]

Vyāsa belonged to the family of Vaśiṣṭha who was his great grandfather. His grandfather was Śakti and father was Parāśara. All three were famous seers to whom portions of the Veda have been attributed. Hence, he belonged to a line of Vedic *ṛṣis* although he himself has no vedic hymns to his credit. He is eminently qualified to both re-order the Veda and write *Mahābhārata* as the fifth Veda. Vyāsa's position is crucial in the transmission of knowledge in the cultural history of India. Not only did he arrange the Veda into four, but he is also credited with the composition of much of the *smṛti*.

What is the significance of *Mahābhārata*? It is "equal unto the Vedas, is holy and excellent, is the worthiest of all to be listened to, and is a Purāṇa worshipped by the *ṛṣis*. It contains much useful instruction on *artha* and *kāma* (profit and pleasure). This sacred history maketh the heart desire for salvation. . . . This history is called *Jayā*."[3] It is the "high and sacred science of *Dharma*, *Artha* and also of *Mokṣa*, it hath been so said by Vyāsa himself, of mind that is immeasurable."[4] Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana wrote it "guided . . . by the desire of doing good to the world"[5] and "He that has read the Bhārata may be regarded as one acquainted with the Vedas."[6] The work has a cosmic sweep. It presents an account of the

> . . . gods and royal sages and sacred regenerate Rishis, the sinless Kesava; the god of gods, Mahadeva and the goddess Parvatī; the birth of Kartikeya who sprang from union of Parvati with Mahadeva and was reared by many mothers. The greatness of Brahmanas and of kine. This Bharata is a collection of all the Śrutis, and is fit to be heard by every virtuous person. . . . The sage Krishna-Dwaipāyana completed his work in three years. Rising daily and purifying himself and performing his ascetic devotions, he composed this *Mahabharata* . . . whatever is spoken about virtue, wealth and pleasure and salvation may be seen elsewhere; but whatever is not contained in this is not to be found anywhere.[7]

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[2] *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," Section LX, p. 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, Section LXII, pp. 120-21.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23

Having composed this poem of cosmic sweep and great knowledge, Vyāsa began to wonder how to teach it first to his disciples who could, in turn, transmit the knowledge to the world. Just at this time, Brahmā, "the world's precepter, knowing of the anxiety of he *ṛṣi* Dvaipāyana, came in person to the place where the latter was. . . . And when Vyāsa, surrounded by all the tribes of *muni*s, saw him, he was surprised."[8] Respectfully seating Brahmā, *ṛṣi* Vyāsa posed the problem to him:

> O divine Brahma, by me, a poem hath been composed which is greatly respected. The mystery of the Veda and other subjects have been explained by me; the various rituals of the Upaniṣads with the Angas; the compilation of the Purāṇas and history formed by me and named after the three division of time, past and present and future; the determination of the nature of decay, fear and disease, existence and non-existence, a description of creeds and of the various modes of life; rule for the four castes, and the import of all the Puranas; an account of asceticism and of the duties of a religious student, the dimensions of the sun and moon, the planets, constellations, and stars together with the duration of the four ages: the Ṛk, Sāma and Yajur Vedas; also the Adhyātma; the science called Nyāya, orthoepy and treatment of diseases; charity and Pasupatadharma; birth celestial and human, for particular purposes; also a description of places of pilgrimage and other holy places of rivers, mountains, forests, the ocean, of heavenly cities and the *kalpas*; the art of war; the different kinds of nations and languages: the nature of the manners of the people; and the all-pervading spirit; all these have been represented. But, after all, no writer of this work is to be found on earth.[9]

Brahmā who is the acknowledged preceptor of the world, encouraged Vyāsa and solved his problem by suggesting Gaṇeśa as his scribe:

> I esteem thee for thy knowledge of divine mysteries, before the whole body of celebrated Munis distinguished for the sanctity of their lives. I know thou hast revealed the divine word, even from its utterance in the language of truth. Thou hast called thy present work a *poem*, wherefore it shall be a poem. There shall be no poets whose works may equal the descriptions of this poem, even as the three modes called Aśramas are ever unequal in merit to the domestic Aśrama. Let Gaṇeśa be thought of, O Muni, for the purpose of writing the poem.[10]

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[8] *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," p. 3.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[10] *Ibid.*

In a similar scene in *Rāmāyaṇa*, the sage Vālmikī already knew the story of Rāma and had construed the metrical pattern of the *śloka* in which he wanted to narrate it when Brahmā appeared before him and encouraged him to promulgate it for the benefit of the world. Therefore, in each case Brahmā appeared before a sage who had the knowledge of *dharma* and facilitated the dissemination of his work for the benefit of humanity.[11] The key motive is *paropakāra* through the education of every section of society. Thus began a work of great import, the wisdom of which —

> . . . like unto an instrument of applying collyrium, hath opened the eyes of the inquisitive world blinded by the darkness of ignorance. As the sun dispelleth the darkness, so doth the *Bharata* by its discourses on religion, profit, pleasure and final release, dispel the ignorance of men. As the full moon by its mild light expandeth the buds of the waterlily, so this Purana, by exposing the light of the Śruti, hath expanded the human intellect. By the lamp of history, which destroyeth the darkness of ignorance, the whole mansion of nature is properly and completely illuminated.[12]

As Bruce Sullivan points out in the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa and Gaṇeśa invert the Vedic paradigm.[13] The Vedas were regarded as divinely created, the Vedic seer merely transmitted the divinely inspired verses. In the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa is not a mere agency of transmission of divine words. He is actually the author. He has composed it in his mind and now needs a transmitter or a scribe to take his dictation. God Gaṇeśa is the scribe who helps to transmit the text more effectively by committing it to writing. Hence in the case of the Vedas, the primary source was the divine and a human agency made them known. In the case of the *Mahābhārata* it is a human composer transmitting the knowledge through a divine agency. As the Ādi-Parva enumerates, "Kṛṣṇa Dwaipāyana, desiring to do good, composed this to give wealth, fame, long life, merit and heaven, while he spread throughout the world the fame of the great spirited Pāṇḍavas and the other Warriors. . . ."[14] Vyāsa "rose daily for three years and created this marvellous tale of the *Mahābhārata*."[15] This is another departure from the Vedic paradigm. The Vedas were transmitted orally while

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11. Bruce M. Sullivan, *Seer of the Fifth Veda: Krishna Dvaipayana Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999, pp. 12-13.
12. *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," p. 5.
13. Bruce M. Sullivan, *Seer of the Fifth Veda*, pp. 23-24.
14. *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," Section LXII, p. 122.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

the *Mahābhārata* was put in a written form which curiously enough, did not also prevent its oral transmission. Thus, there are certain significant differences between Vyāsa as the seer of the fifth Veda and the Vedic seers of the four Vedas. Vyāsa is dictating to the divine rather than transmitting from the divine. And he chooses the written form over the oral although the tale is actually being orally told to Janamejaya.

It has been argued that the Gaṇeśa episode is an interpolation as is the encounter with Brahmā. It is only an effort, according to Sullivan, to give authority to the text.[16] Scholars have described the authorship of Vyāsa himself as mythical because his existence is impossible to prove except in myths and legends such as have been preserved in the epic and elsewhere. They have also considered the texts attributed to Vyāsa as the products of several contributors in the course of centuries. Hence they aver that the authorship of Vyāsa can only be considered a symbolic one. Whatever may be the truth of this, the position of Vyāsa is crucial in the transmission of knowledge and *Mahābhārata* has exercised a hold on the Indian mind which, with the exception of *Rāmāyaṇa*, no other text has.

The Vedas, Mahābhārata and the Human Cycle

The question is what do we mean by saying that in writing the *Mahābhārata* Vyāsa created the fifth Veda because unlike the Vedic *ṛṣi*, Vyāsa is also a key participant in the events of the narration. It is in effect his own story. Through it Vyāsa wants to tell the world what he has endured and known through direct experience in the field of human action because the world is where we have to live and act as best as we can and attain our own *mokṣa* through our own actions. It is an imperfect world but that is all we have and we have to do the best we can in it. It is a therapeutic exercise for him. In a way he is holding a mirror up to himself. Vyāsa, in writing the *Mahābhārata*, is both a colossal failure and a colossal success. He is the seer, the ascetic and the *guru* and yet in every enterprise that he undertakes in *Mahābhārata*, he fails. This is because *Mahābhārata* is a reflection of human beings motivated and impelled by narrow self interest unlike the *Rāmāyaṇa* which presents the ideal. Perhaps it was a precursor to what would happen as *kaliyuga* set in and Vyāsa acceded to write the fifth Veda because he realized that virtue was destined to become

> Lame by one leg in each *yuga* (she having four legs in all) and that the period of life and the strength of men followed the Yugas, and moved by the desire

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[16] Bruce M. Sullivan, *Seer of the Fifth Veda*, pp. 13-26.

> of obtaining the favour of *Brahman* and Brahmanas, arranged the Vedas. And for this he came to be called *Vyasa* (the *arranger or compiler*). The boon giving great one then taught Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila, his son Suka, and Vaisampayana, the Vedas having the *Mahabharata* for their fifth. And the compilation of *Bharata* was published by him through them separately.[17]

This brings us to the question of the Vedas themselves: what was their purpose, who wrote them and who were they meant for. Sri Aurobindo analyses that the Europeans saw the Vedas as nothing but the compositions of fearful barbaric minds out to propitiate the powerful forces of nature through sacrifices as they were terrified by them. But is this really true? Sri Aurobindo himself points out that literature more than any other art form expresses the spirit of the people because it is the most flexible and capable of many-sided self-expression. The word manifests and expresses the significance of the inner self either through its direct meaning or through what it suggests. The greatness of literature lies first and foremost in its thought and substance, then in the beauty of its form and finally in its language because that is its mode of expression and communication.[18]

Discussing the several stages in the development of the human race in *The Human Cycle*, Sri Aurobindo sees it as moving from the symbolic to the "typal" and then to the conventional.[19] In its primitive beginnings or the early stages, a strongly symbolic mentality pervades thoughts, customs and institutions. This is true of all races, he says, whether cultured or savage, economically backward or advanced. This stage is always religious, actively imaginative and intuitive. It gives rise to vivid images and symbols that emerge from the intuitive being of man,

> of something which man feels present behind himself and his life and his activities — the Divine, the Gods, the vast and deep unnameable, a hidden, living and mysterious nature of things. All his religious and social institutions, all the moments and phases of his life are to him symbols in which he seeks to express what he knows or guesses of the mystic influences that are behind his life and shape and govern or at least intervene in its moments.[20]

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17. *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," Section LXIII, pp. 127-28.
18. Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Literature-1," *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1st edn., 1959, 4th edn., 1998, pp. 262-63.
19. Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1st edn., 1949, 3rd edn 1998, pp. 5-14.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

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If the beginnings of Indian society are seen within this framework, the Vedic age was the symbolic one. It is not comprehended fully because we have lost the perspective of that age. We shape everything according to our own times and this influences our understanding. For example, the hypothesis that the Vedic sacrifices were nothing more than the propitiation of Nature gods for the purpose of gaining heaven or for material prosperity is to perceive them through an intellectual and practical point of view that is unable to enter into the spirit of the ancient *ṛṣis*. As Sri Aurobindo points out, not only the actual religious worship but even the social institutions of that time were penetrated through and through with the symbolic.[21] For example, the Ṛgvedic hymn of marriage talks of the successive marriages of Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun with various gods and yet we use it in the ceremony of the human marriages. This is because Sūryā's marriage is not to be taken literally but is mythical and symbolical, the central idea of which has influenced the Indian notion of marriage for centuries.[22] The human marriage, itself, is subordinated and governed by the essence of the divine and mystic figure. The divine marriage then, is not a mere poetic ornamentation to set-off the human one but to raise it to cosmic and divine levels and to enrich it by giving it substance and meaning.

The poet of the Vedas was not an ordinary being. He was a *ṛṣi*, a seer, a revealer of hidden truths and used metaphor and simile to embody these difficult truths in order to make them more comprehensible. Thus the "image" for the Vedic seer was a symbol of the unrevealed, and man and cosmos themselves were symbolic expressions of the same hidden reality. From this attitude came the tendency to make everything in society a sacrament, religious and sacrosanct. The dynamics worked in two ways. The symbols supported a fixed principle but the social forms were flexible and capable of infinite development.

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The symbolic stage, according to Sri Aurobindo, passes into the second, which is the typal and which is predominantly psychological and ethical.[23] The earlier spiritual age, too, expressed profound psychological truths but the spiritual overshadowed the psychological and ethical. In the typal stage, the spiritual is subordinated to the psychological and the ethical idea. Religion becomes a mystic sanction for the ethical motive and *dharma* becomes its chief utility as it takes a more and more worldly turn. Life is no longer seen as the direct expression of the divine. The typal creates great social ideals but as this stage also passes, they remain superficially impressed upon the mind and gradually cease to have a clear living root or to spring naturally out of the inner life of man.

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[21] Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1st edn., 1949, 3rd edn 1998, p. 5-14.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The typal passes into the conventional when the external supports or the outward expressions remain but their true meaning is forgotten. When this happens the convention becomes more important than the ideal or, to use Sri Aurobindo's expression, the clothes become more important than the person or even the body. It then fixes society into a system of rigid grades and hierarchies, makes thought a subject to infallible authority, binds education and training to traditional and unchangeable forms and puts a stamp of finality upon life. The spirit recedes, the form prevails.[24]

The Vedas and Upaniṣads belong to the earliest times and hence in them can be seen fathomless spiritual insight, a subtle intuitive vision. They laid the foundation of the spiritual and religious being of India, the figures in which she saw man, Nature and God and the powers of the universe. The Upaniṣads constantly break out of the form and symbol found in the Vedas without entirely abandoning them and reveal in unique poetry the unsurpassable truths of self and God, man and the world and its principles and powers. It is as if the spirit clothed in mysticism of the Vedas reveals itself fully in the Upaniṣads.

By the time we come to the *Mahābhārata*, the spirit has passed to matter, intuition to reason. It, at first, naturally led to an intellectual endeavour, an effort to comprehend the relationship between life, the world and the self through a reasoning and practical intelligence that consciously expressed the mind and spirit of the people. A strong and successful societal structure was organized that could fulfil the mundane objects of human existence but was simultaneously guided by a careful religious, ethical and social order and discipline.

At another level it also led to strenuous philosophical thinking that crystallized over a period of time into the great philosophical systems of India. There was an endeavour to formulate cogently and clearly the ethical, social and political ideal and practice in a consistent and organized system of individual and communal life. Authoritative social treatise or *śāstras* were written as the reasoning intelligence tried to systematize and justify the truth pertaining to self, man and the world that had already been intuitively discovered in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads as a revealed spiritual experience. While on the one hand came the *śāstras*, on the other were the *sūtras* that expressed the whole development of great philosophical thought in a few enigmatic phrases and words. This naturally gave rise to ratiocinative commentaries presenting the various interpretations of the *sūtras* through metaphysical and logical methods.

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[24] Sri Aurobindo, *The Human Cycle*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1st edn., 1949, 3rd edn 1998, pp. 11-12

Broadly speaking, two kinds of works developed. One was concerned solely with the original and the ultimate truth, the attainment of spiritual liberation or *mokṣa*. The other was that of social thinkers and legislators who tried to deal with the ordinary life of man and the community, with human desires and interest. They tried to put them in a framework of ordered rule and custom in a manner that related to the accepted ideas and ideals of national life and culture.

However, another kind of work also developed and this was the literature of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* embodying the aspirations, ideals and ethics of the individuals and communities creating powerful myths and racial memories. The *Mahābhārata*, in particular, gathered into its vast structure the poetic activity of several centuries. The poet or the poets who wrote it did not intend to only tell an ancient heroic tale in a beautiful and noble manner. As the fifth Veda, it is also a *dharmaśāstra*, the body of a large religious, ethical, social and political teaching that had a great effect and hold on the mind of the people. It popularised the high philosophic and ethical ideas and cultural practices. Its themes, motifs, protagonists and even many of the minor characters are etched in the nation's psyche. They are representative figures of all that is best in soul and thought, or true to life and real to the creative imagination.[25]

Efforts have been made to establish the historicity of the great war of the *Mahābhārata* and the veracity of the characters. Whatever may be the relevance of these endeavours, what is of vital importance is that even if it is half-legendary and half historic it is cherished by the people and embodies their deepest and most living truths. Whether as the classical Sanskrit text or as an oral narrative told by the *Kathaks*, bards and rhapsodists, it became and has remained one of the chief vehicles of popular education and culture moulding thought, character, aesthetics and religious life of the people, giving a semblance of philosophical underpinning to the lives of even the illiterate and those to whom the Vedas and the Upaniṣads were not available. What the cultured classes got from the Vedas, Upaniṣads and the *dharmaśāstras*, was conveyed to the common man through living figures, through story and legend fused in vivid representations of life. It is therefore, a Veda of the people.

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[25] Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Literature-3," *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, pp. 292-96.

Vyāsa and the Mahābhārata

The Veda of Vyāsa is of a democratic nature and it is only appropriate that it should be so. Vyāsa after all was born of the union of Parāśara *ṛṣi* with Satyavatī, the foster daughter of the king of fishermen, *uparicara*. She was a great beauty but had an unbearable fishy smell due to her birth from a fish and continual contact with fisherman. While plying her father's boat on the waters of Yamunā, she was one day seen by Parāśara *ṛṣi* and so great was her beauty, that even an anchorite like him was swayed. This resulted in the birth of Vyāsa, who, with the permission of his mother, set his mind on asceticism and went away saying that whenever she remembered him, he would come to her. It was this promise that he was called upon to redeem by his mother when she called him and asked him to father a son so that the line of Śāntanu or the Bharata dynasty would not come to an end. Hence, Vyāsa is not only the poetic creator of *Mahābhārata*. He is literally its creater as it is his progeny that is engaged in the epic battle. In the writing of the *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa is actualy writing his own story. He himself is one of the chief protagonists of his creation. It is his intervention that is often most vital and propels the action forward. However, in spite of his very venerable position in the epic, he is unable to prevent the game of dice, the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, the war of Kurukṣetra, the butchery in the aftermath of the war and the vengeance of Aśvatthāmā.

Vyāsa is an important advisor to the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his wife Gāndhārī but his advice often goes unheeded at various crucial times by people blinded by their own narrow self-interests. At the very beginning when he was called by Satyavatī he warned his mother that destruction would take place and advised her to retire with her two daughters-in-law for a life of ascetism into the forest. This was ignored. Once on reaching the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra he was exceedingly exhausted and was looked after by Gāndhārī. In return he gave her the boon of a hundred sons and intervened when she attempted to abort the foetus after carrying it for two years because she was frustrated on hearing that Kuntī in the forests had already got a son, Yudhiṣṭhira, before her. It is Vyāsa who divided the foetus into a hundred and one parts — hundred sons and one daughter — and it is they who grew up to fight the war with their five Pāṇḍava cousins. Vyāsa continuously asked Dhṛtarāṣṭra to control his sons, Duryodhana in particular, but he expressed his helplessness to do so. He repeatedly advised reconciliation and foretold total destruction if war was not averted but Vyāsa's advice was ignored.

Vyāsa granted divine sight at first to Dhṛtarāṣṭra who asked that instead it be given to Sañjaya. Thus, he gave this boon to Sañjaya together with invulnerability in the battlefield so that he could describe the war in detail to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Even during the war, he made an attempt to reconcile the combatants when he appeared before Aśvatthāmā after the death of his father Droṇa and responded to his anguished questions. After most of the combatants had died, Aśvatthāmā and Arjuna met on the battlefield and released their powerful weapons that threatened to destroy the world. Vyāsa and Nārada appeared between the converging missiles, preventing their collision and Vyāsa demanded that they be withdrawn. Arjuna was able to do so because of his virtue and strict adherence to his vows but not Aśvatthāmā. Vyāsa had no choice but to allow Aśvatthāmā's weapon to kill the unborn offsprings of the Pāṇḍavas. What compromise or defeat could be greater than this for Vyāsa? However, Kṛṣṇa promised to revive one of them, the unborn son of Uttara, who came to be known as Parīkṣit to save the dynasty. Therefore, despite Vyāsa's direct intervention at various points of time the Pāṇḍavas and the Kaurvas could not be reconciled and death, destruction and annihilation took place.

Vyāsa was also the counselor to Bhīṣma Pitāmaha who often referred to his teachings. It was those that were transmitted to the newly crowned king Yudhiṣṭhira by Bhīṣma lying on his bed of arrows. He also counselled and consoled the various distressed members of the Bharata dynasty. For example, after Pāṇḍu's death, he told Kuntī that her sons would be powerful rulers of their father's kingdom. He consoled Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the loss of their sons and together with Kṛṣṇa consoled Gaṅgā when Bhīṣma passed away. He appeared to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and others in the forest after the battle and summoned the deceased warriors from the heavens that they had won, and reunited them for a night with their loved ones. He gave Dhṛtarāṣṭra the power that night to see his hundred sons for the first time and reconciled all the warriors to each other. At dawn, he sent all the widows to heaven together with their husbands. After this he advised Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī to finally retire from society and practice asceticism. Janmejaya was so thrilled to hear this story that he requested Vyāsa to summon his father Parīkṣit from heaven. This too Vyāsa granted.

Vyāsa advised the Pāṇḍavas to marry Pañcālī and when Drupada hesitated, he convinced him sweeping aside all his objections. Just as Vyāsa was instrumental in installing Yudhiṣṭhira on the throne of Hastināpura, he was also the one who advised the Pāṇḍavas that the time had come for them to retire from administering the realm and to make the final journey. At other crucial moments, he saved their lives or guided their movements. He advised them to live in the city of Ekacakra disguised as brāhmaṇas; to go and marry Draupadī; to visit sacred places when they were in exile; and to prepare for war by acquiring weapons. He often instructed them in religion and helped Yudhiṣṭhira overcome his grief and sense of guilt at the end of the war. Therefore, Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata* is a seer, a priest, an ascetic and a spiritual preceptor, but to what end?

There are three major crises in which he is intimately involved and in all three, the consequences of his actions are disastrous. The first is when Vyāsa is asked by his mother to produce legitimate heirs to the throne with the two widows of his half brother. Vyāsa promised heirs who would be "the likes of Mitra and Varuṇa" but what he fathered were the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the pale Pāṇḍu. The third, Vidura, became the wise counsellor but could not rule because his mother was a servant woman. Pāṇḍu was given the throne over his blind elder brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra. He ruled well till he went into the forests where a curse fell upon him. Dhṛtarāṣṭra succeeded to the throne and that is when the problems became unmanageable. Both Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu had sons but it became unclear who would succeed to the throne, the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra who was ruling at that time and who was the elder himself, or the eldest son of Pāṇḍu who had been installed on the throne and whose son was elder to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's. This question of succession split the Kauravas into two hostile groups and their rivalry escalated into the war of wholesale slaughter. This was the legacy of Vyāsa's fathering the flawed princes.

The second crisis followed the division of the kingdom in an effort to avert war. The Pāṇḍavas installed in Indraprastha decided to perform the *rājasūya yajña*. It was an attempt to proclaim Yudhiṣṭhira as the sovereign over all kings. Although the Kaurava side participated in the ritual as the elder branch of the family, they could not really be expected to be supportive of Yudhiṣṭhira's imperial ambitions. Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, consequently challenged his cousin to a gambling match in an effort to settle the question of succession to the throne of Hastināpura. As Van Buitenen has convincingly shown, Yudhiṣṭhira did not agree to gamble out of greed or folly but out of necessity. Gambling was an essential part of the ritual of *rājasūya*. It was meant to be symbolic in which the king was supposed to win but here the rigged game became a horrible reality.[26]

It was Vyāsa who was the presiding priest at the *rājasūya yajña* which means that he was in agreement with it and with Yudhiṣṭhira's desire to be the sovereign over all kings. He chose the other priests and oversaw the entire ritual. It was, then, his responsibility to see that the *yajña* was properly completed and that the sovereignty of the king established. As Bruce Sullivan, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* points out, the most learned brāhmaṇa was chosen as the leading priest for the ceremony. He headed the sacrifice using all the three Vedas. He was the guardian and the heart of the sacrifice, in fact the entire sacrifice itself. Originally it was always a descendant of Vaśiṣṭha who did this and so on all counts, Vyāsa was the most appropriate chief priest. But the ritual went wrong and the Pāṇḍavas went into exile, the responsibility of which could not be evaded by Vyāsa.[27]

The third crisis is his failure to reconcile the two sides. Vyāsa made several attempts. Immediately after the Pāṇḍavas went into exile, he warned Dhṛtarāṣṭra to rein in Duryodhana in an effort to maintain peace, however uneasy. Even after the completion of the term of the exile, the Kauravas were in no mood to share the kingdom. On Vyāsa's advice, Sañjaya was sent to make peace but returned with the message that the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa were ready for war. Vyāsa revealed the divinity of Kṛṣṇa to Dhṛtarāṣṭra but even this proved of no avail. He came to the battlefield and told Aśvatthāmā to desist fighting after the death of Droṇa by revealing to him that Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa were really Nara and Nārāyaṇa, born in age after age for the purpose of ordering the affairs of the world. Not only did Vyāsa not succeed in resolving the feud but had to make the ultimate grotesque compromise of accepting the horrifying slaughter of the unborn descendants of the Pāṇḍavas.

Why did Vyāsa the ascetic get so deeply involved in the affairs of men? Perhaps because *Mahābhārata* is the Veda of action in the world. Hence two paths of asceticism are clearly presented in *Mahābhārata* through Vyāsa and his son Śuka. Śuka becomes a *saṁnyāsin* very early in his life, rejecting society and its *dharma* together with the constraints that it imposes. But the epic is uneasy with this because obviously society would cease to exist if everyone became a *saṁnyāsin* pursuing his personal *mokṣa* before having children to carry on the duties incumbent on one. Vyāsa's purpose in becoming an ascetic is not to attain *mokṣa* but to support *dharma*. It is to serve a societal function, to reveal to humanity the subtle course of *dharma* in different times. Vyāsa found consolation and even rejoiced at Śuka's asceticism that had earned him eternal fame but Vyāsa's asceticism is the more difficult one. It represents one essential and vital paradigm of society, the quest of how to integrate the values of asceticism into society as a whole. It is the ideal of the *niṣkāma karma* taught by the *Gītā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa being played out in life by Vyāsa at great cost to himself but without which the existence of society itself would be threatened.

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[26] J.A.B. Van Buitenen (tr. and ed.), *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "The Book of the Beginning," Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 27-28.

[27] Bruce M. Sullivan, *Seer of the Fifth Veda*, p. 61.

Why does Vyāsa constantly fail in his endeavour? Perhaps, because the purpose of the Veda of the *kaliyuga* is to show how *dharma* becomes confused and confusing even for the best of men. Hence, at the end of the war Vyāsa can only cry out helplessly with uplifted hands that wealth and desire can be obtained and fulfilled through *dharma* but no one listens to him and no one, he knows, will ever listen to him. That is the very nature of life and the world.

The Cosmic Drama of Mahābhārata

However, as Sri Aurobindo points out, the same drama of human *Mahābhārata* is also played out at the cosmic plane:

> The Vedic notion of the struggle between the godheads of truth, light and unity and the powers of darkness, division and falsehood is brought out from the spiritual and religious and internal into the outer intellectual, ethical and vital plane. Here it takes the double form of a personal and political struggle, the personal conflict between typical and representative personalities embodying the greater ethical ideals of the Indian dharma and others who are embodiments of Asuric egoism and self-will and misuse of dharma. The personal struggle culminates in a political battle ending in the establishment of a new rule of righteousness and justice, an empire of dharma uniting warring races, substituting the ambitious arrogance of kings and aristocratic clans with the supremacy, calm and peace of a just and humane

> empire. It is the old struggle between the Deva and the Asura, God and Titan, but represented in terms of human life.[28]

The epic itself is at pains to lift the human conflict to a divine plane. In the Ādi-Parva we see that the earth tyrannized by the demonic *asura*s approaches the god Brahmā who already knew of her request. He called the gods and told them that to relieve earth of her burden they must all be born with a part of themselves on earth and oppose the evil forces. Similarly, he asked the *gandharva*s and the *apsaras* to take form and be born on earth. Impatient to be born, all the gods together with Indra went to "Nārāyaṇa, the slayer of all foes, at *Vaikuṇṭha*" and asked him also to be "Be incarnate."[29] Thus Indra gave command and all the gods descended one after another for the destruction of demons and the well-being of humanity.

A detailed account follows of the incarnation of gods and demons on earth according to a divine plan. It explains the origin of various kinds of creatures including gods, *gandharva*s, *apsaras*, the primordial seers, several types of demons and others. Then it goes on to list the incarnations of gods and demons who participated in the Kurukṣetra war. First is a list of incarnations of the many demons as kings who play minor roles in the epic story. For example, Jarāsandha is the incarnation of Vipracitti and Hiraṇyakaśyapa is born as Śiśupāla. Then come the major epic figures like Kṛṣṇa who is a portion of Nārāyaṇa. Duryodhana is an *aṁśa* of Kālī born for the purpose of destroying humanity and it is known that when he becomes king, Earth's request would be fulfilled as for his sake kings would come to Kurukṣetra and kill one another thus relieving the Earth of her burden. The divine origins of the characters of *Mahābhārata* are referred to several times in the Ādi-Parva, Strī-Parva and Āśramavāsika-Parva. The *Mahābhārata*, then, is patterned on the recurrent war between the gods and the demons but this time played out on earth. Kṛṣṇa's role in the divine plan and his purpose in becoming incarnate is very clearly stated as the destruction of the demons who threaten *dharma*. Each time, as the *Bhagavad-Gītā* says, when *adharma* overwhelms the earth, Kṛṣṇa is born to save it. But it is a cyclical process.

In the execution of the divine plan to rid the earth of demons, there seems to be cooperation between the three Kṛṣṇas — Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana,

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[28] Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Literature-3," *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1st edn., 1959, 4th edn., 1998, pp. 295-96.

[29] *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva," Section LXIV, p. 132.

Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and Draupadī also known as Kṛṣṇa. At first Draupadī seems to be only a victim but the epic emphasizes that she is also Śrī incarnate. Just as at the churning of the ocean, Śrī was the prize over which gods and demons contended, Draupadī is central to the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. She plays a crucial role in precipitating the war. She questions the assembly in the Kuru court how Yudhiṣṭhira could have staked her after losing his own freedom. It is her disrobing that make the war inevitable. She constantly urges the Pāṇḍavas to fight for both their honour and inheritance. Thus, she cooperates in her own way in Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva's divine plan of arranging the battle of Kurukṣetra as a huge sacrifice to cleanse the earth of its sins. Vyāsa's failures too, can be read in similar light. Each one of them is a step forward towards the war that is portrayed as a *dharmayuddha*. His procreation of two flawed princes left such a legacy of confusion that it created the conditions for war. The *rājasūya yajña* led to an irreversible rupture between the cousins making war inevitable. And, finally, his continual failure to reconcile the two sides both before and during the war resulted not only in the annihilation of the two sides but also that of the unborn heirs of the Pāṇḍavas. There could be no conflict of succession after this because there was only one left, Parīkṣit, saved by the grace of Kṛṣṇa. Hence, the divine plan is fulfilled and earth's request granted, at least for the time being.

Conclusion

We are left in no illusion that darkness will come again and again to earth because human memory is short, and how short it is can be seen from the *nāga yajña* of Janmejaya, Parīkṣit's son, to avenge the death of his father from a snake bite, that of Takṣaka, the *nāga* king. The cycle of revenge has already begun again within two generations of the brutally destructive war.[30] Why does this happen? Because that is the nature of human life. The Vedic seers, we must remember, saw human life as —

> A thing of mixed truth and falsehood, a movement from mortality to immortality, from mixed light and darkness to the splendors of a divine Truth whose home is above in the Infinite but which can be built up here in man's soul and life, a battle between the children of light and the sons of Night, a getting of treasure, of the wealth, the body given by the gods to the human warrior, and a journey and a sacrifice.[31]

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[30] *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, "Ādi-Parva."

[31] Sri Aurobindo, "Indian Literature-1," *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, p. 273.

Mahābhārata is only an explication of how this works itself out in the affairs of men and the world. Hence, *Mahābhārata* take place all the time and every day within the individual, within his community and society and his relationship with them, and within all that he holds dear in the world and cherishes in his life. We ourselves are *Mahābhārata*. Arjuna's dilemmas and those of the other characters are our own and they are both within us and outside of us. Like them, we will all have to contend with them, struggle and undertake our own individual Himālayan journeys before the *mahāprasthāna* can take place, the sleep of eternal peace which is also the awakening to eternal truth and bliss as happens in the *Mahābhārata*. Vyāsa, too, has to go through his own trials and tribulations, and his pain is the greatest because after being an active participant in all the spheres of action, he has to live through the pain again by writing of it in his composition of the *Mahābhārata*. It is to teach the world but it is also to gain his own peace.

22

Reading the First Adhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra*

Makarand Paranjape

Introduction[1]

This paper is an exposition and analysis of the first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Nāṭyautpatti Adhyāya* or the chapter concerning the birth of drama. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, that treatise of drama and aesthetics, though called a *śāstra*, is more an encyclopedic compendium, even a pedagogical treatise on the subject. Neither abbreviated nor compressed into *sūtra*s, this *śāstra*, written in 6000 *śloka*s, propounds a complex and coherent grammar of performance in itself. Going back to the second century before the current era, it is, thus, the first statement about drama, dance, music, modes of enactment, and, indeed, of the artistic effect itself. Because such a text could not have been written without centuries of prior tradition of performing arts, it suggests a much older history of thinking about art and aesthetics. In refutation of the common criticism against such classical texts, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is much more a record of observations than of prescriptions. But what makes it really outstanding and ever-relevant is that it offers a comprehensive theory of cognition — nay, not just of cognition, but also of self-transformation. Knowledge and wisdom come through the art experience, which in turn can modify the cognizing subject and take him or her to a higher state of consciousness. Art constitutes the depiction of human experience, the effect of which on the viewer is ultimately a higher state of conscious enjoyment in detachment; the final effect is a self that is liberated from those very emotions which constitute the experience of both art and life.

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* This paper, inspired by two outstanding exponents of classical Indian texts, the late Professor K.J. Shah and Professor Kapil Kapoor, has appeared in earlier versions, the last of them in *Śabda: Text and Interpretation in Indian Thought*, New Delhi: Mantra Books, 2004.

Rasa, in other words, is nothing but the exposition of the structure of human experience. Because both the nature and constitution of human experience does not change so easily, even over thousands of years, a theory such as *rasa* is still relevant, though we may question the formulae, the typology, the number, the status, even the chain of causality that form the basis of the *rasa* theory and its explanation of the art experience. For instance, in the eleventh century, *Rājā Bhoja* in *Sarasvatīkaṇṭābharaṇam* argued that even *sañcārī bhāva*s or the subsidiary emotional states could produce *rasa*. This allows us to incorporate many modern experiences and their artistic portrayal into the *rasa* model. Some, such as Professor Harsha V. Dehejia, have even identified despair as the *rasa* of modernity, while others such as Sudipta Kaviraj think it is alienation.

One of the most striking things about the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is its first *adhyāya* which speaks of the origin of *nāṭya* or drama. The author, Bharata Muni, switches to a third person narrative to tell us how the sages approached him and desired to find out how *nāṭya* originated. We are told that *nāṭya* is the fifth Veda — Veda, of course, comes from *vid*, which means to know — and that drama or art is definitely a source of knowledge, whatever else it might be. It was invented because during the *tretāyuga* the common people, who did not have access to the Vedas, needed a source of guidance and instruction, one which would be visual as well as auditory. So the *Nāṭyaveda* was created by Brahmā himself to teach the *puruṣārtha*s or the cardinal aims of life: it was to be conducive to righteousness or *dharma*, and to the production of wealth and pleasure, or *artha* and *kāma*. Because the *deva*s were thought incapable of practising this art, Brahmā entrusted it to Bharata and his hundred sons — of course, these hundred sons are more properly the catalogue of those who practised and taught the art. A key element in this story is that this art could only be performed by those who have learned to control their senses because only then could they correctly portray and teach the attractions of virtue and the repulsions of evil.

Nāṭyautpatti: The First Adhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra

I now propose to discuss in greater detail this first chapter, some of whose key concepts I have already summarized briefly above. The object of this reading is to attempt to demonstrate how a classical Indian text demands to be read in our times. It will be clear that I propose such texts to be more widely studied and disseminated. Just as any educated Westerner knows something of Plato and Aristotle, I believe that any educated Indian needs to know something of Bharata, Bhartṛhari, Pāṇini, and our other great classical thinkers. It should be obvious that I am totally against these texts being confined to a small section of Sanskrit *paṇḍit*s. Just as Plato and Aristotle are read not just by those who know classical Greek, I believe that educated Indians who have no knowledge of Sanskrit should also read and appreciate our key texts. But for this to happen, we not only require good translations, which alas are quite hard to procure, but also contemporary ways of understanding these texts. We need to defossilize these texts by injecting a new life into them. They should be shown to speak to our concerns and their relevance should thus be revalidated. This ought not, of course, be forced or mechanically exercised, but should be a very thoughtful and careful process. If we do not fail our traditions, I am sure that it will be possible not only to bring these texts back into circulation, but to demonstrate their "universality" — that is, though they were written at a specific time and within a specific culture, their scope and ambitions are much wider and greater. These are, by no means, ethnocentric texts, contemptuously referred to as "Brāhmaṇical" by those who little understand the genealogy of that term but use it merely as an expletive, a term of abuse.

No English translation of the text is satisfactory. The two-volume Manmohan Ghosh edition (Calcutta: Granthalaya, 1967), is stilted and dated. Adya Rangacharya's version, *The Nāṭyaśāstra* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999), first published in 1996, is not a verse-by-verse translation, though it is more readable than Ghosh's. He leaves out several parts that he considers repetitive or unimportant. There is yet another English version, translated by "A Board of Scholars" and first published in Delhi by Satguru Publications in 1986. Here several key words are inappropriately translated, obfuscating the main ideas. Those who know Hindi can refer to the elaborate translation in several volumes, with a commentary, by Babulal Shukla Shastri called *Hindī Nāṭyaśāstra*, 3rd edn. (Varanasi and Delhi: Chaukhamba, 2000). This is the best edition because it also gives the Sanskrit text. I have, however, deliberately refrained from quoting from the original Sanskrit because I assume that most of the readers of this book will be unfamiliar with the language. Rather than inviting hair-splitting debates on very fine points of textual exegesis, my aim has been to try to interpret the text to a well-informed contemporary reader and practitioner of literary theory. I have, nevertheless, tried to paraphrase the text, giving my own gist of what it says. For more informed or interested readers, I refer to the specific verses in parenthesis.

One of the most interesting features of the first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is that it is in the form of a narrative, a conversation between the learned sages and Bharata, the founder of the discipline. Bharata proceeds to narrate to his listeners the story of the origin of drama. The story, in fact, is in the form of a typical "myth of origin," tracing the birth of drama (and the performing arts) to Brahmā, the progenitor of the universe itself. Now the question is why should what is ostensibly a *śāstra* assume the form of a myth?

We will have to re-examine what we mean by "myth." In this case, the Western word is inappropriate. A myth is not just a "legend" or a "fable," or more plainly "lies." Here it is a mode of exposition of complex theoretical issues. In fact, the exposition is too systematic to be a mere myth. Indeed, the structure of the chapter is constituted by the five questions raised by Atreya and the other sages about drama and the performing arts. The sages, incidentally, are defined as those who have control over their senses, a point that comes up again later when the question arises as to who is qualified to practise the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The questions that the sages raise need not be considered "historical" or literally true, but as devices to elicit answers which can describe and define what constitutes *nāṭya* or drama. The answers, in other words, give us the *characteristics* of *nāṭya*, or what enables a work to be considered *nāṭya*.

Let us look at these five questions (3-6). Simply speaking they are: how did Brahmā come to create *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *nāṭya*; for whom; with how many elements; of what scope; and to accomplish what?

Bharata explains (7-15) that the need for *nāṭya* arose because of a degeneration of values and conduct among the people. After the end of *kṛtayuga* (or the *satyayuga*) and the transition to the *tretāyuga*, Jambūdvīpa, which was full of gods, *dānavas*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *ugras* (*nāgas*) and so on, experienced a moral decline (Note that India, even in those days, was seen as a plural society, consisting of different kinds of people.). That is when the gods, led by Indra, approached Brahmā, the creator of the universe and progenitor of all beings, requesting him to create a new Veda, a fifth Veda which would be accessible to all these diverse people. Since the Vedas were not easily available to common people, it was thought that a new form of expression should be created which would include song, dance, and other embellishments, but still be capable of giving people the knowledge of good and evil. Though the Vedas may not be obtainable by all, all of us nevertheless need to have the knowledge to distinguish between good and evil. Calling the *nāṭya* the "fifth Veda" or the *Nāṭyaveda*, in other words, not only underscores the importance of the arts but also stresses their continuity with the core texts of a civilization. More specifically, *nāṭya* is made up of components derived from the Vedas — the recitation from the *Ṛgveda*, songs from *Sāmaveda*, acting from the *Yajurveda*, and *rasas*, or the essences of the experience of life, from the *Atharvaveda*. How does Brahmā create the *Nāṭyaveda* (16-18)? He remembers the four Vedas, meditates on them, and then creates a fifth by combining elements from all four. It is important to observe that while Bhārata is the "author" of the text called *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the actual *Nāṭya*, or *Naṭyaveda*, as Bhārata says, is created by Brahmā himself. In other words, no "man" is the creator of this art, it is "impersonal" or *apauruṣeya*. Thus the first question is answered.

The second question is "for whom is the *Nāṭyaveda* created?" The answer (19-20) is very interesting. Brahmā says that this Veda should be given to those who are "skillful, wise, brave, and not easily tired." Indra replies that the gods do not have the ability to accept, maintain, understand, and perform this Veda therefore it should be given to humans, but of a special caliber, those who, like the sages, "have fulfilled their vows," and who can control their senses (21-23). That is why Brahmā hands over the performing arts to Bharata and his hundred sons, who are then listed (24-40). This list is suggestive of the long lineage of those who practiced *nāṭya*, much before the *Nāṭyaśāstra* came to be composed. The list is to legitimize and establish a group of people who can perform *nāṭya*. In time, these became tribes of performers, some of whom persist to this date. Thus ends the answer to the second question.

The third question is: what are the elements of *nāṭya*? By implication the question seeks to understand how each of the elements of *nāṭya* relates to the others and its structure that is both the goal of performance and the technique. In response, Bharata narrates (41-45) how after he had incorporated three styles, namely Bhāratī, Satvatī, and Arbhaṭī, he approached Brahmā respectfully to ask for further instructions. Brahmā instructed him also to introduce the Kaiśikī style. This latter style was found in the dance of Śiva and consisted of bodily movements, *rasa*, *bhāva*, attractive costumes, and an overall conduciveness to happiness. Bhārata declares that this style is impossible to perform without women; therefore a separate class of celestial damsels, the *apsarās*, are created for this purpose (46). Like the sons of Bhārata, what follows is a catalogue of the names of the *apsarās* (47-50). Once again, I believe that this has been done first of all to allow women to perform *nāṭya* and also to give them the special status of performers, marking them out from other women. Finally, Brahmā appoints Swāti and his disciples to play the instruments and the *gandharvas* led by Nārada to sing the songs (50-51). What these verses show is the endowment of *nāṭya*, with action, dance, song, and music so that it can carry out its great task of educating the people in the knowledge of good and evil but doing so in a pleasing manner. Later on, we are told how other members of the assembly, gods, *gandharvas*, *rākṣasas*, *pannāgas*, and so on, each offers some "gifts" in terms of emotional content and effect to *nāṭya* (52-60).

The first play to be performed is the victory of the *devas* over the *dānavas*. It is performed during the banner festival of Indra. The play shows how the *dānavas* and the *daityas* are destroyed. Seeing this the latter, who are watching the play, are angry. They obstruct the performance, paralysing the players (63-67). At this Indra is infuriated and beats the *asuras* and *vighnas* with his banner staff, the jewel-encrusted *jarjara* (68-70). Indra ordains the staff be used to protect the performance (71-75). But when the play is performed again, it is again disrupted by the *daityas* (76-77). This prompts Bharata to approach Brahmā to find a more lasting solution (77-78). Brahmā, therefore, ordains a playhouse to be built (79-83). Brahmā exhorts the *devas* to protect the theatre; it is also protected by the moon, the sun, the *lokapālas* (guardians of the world), Maruts, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, Ādityas, Rudras, *bhūtas*, *yakṣiṇīs*, and so on (84-88). Niyati (fate) and Yama (death) are the doorkeepers; Indra himself is positioned by the side of the stage. Besides, there are all sorts of other beings stationed for the protection of the playhouse (88-91). The most powerful gods, Indra, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kārttikeya are all positioned in the playhouse (93-97). Finally, Brahmā himself appeases the *vighnas* or the forces of obstruction (99-107). Verse 100 gives the four methods of conflict-resolution, which are also found in the *Arthaśāstra*: *sāma, dāma, bheda, daṇḍa*, or persuasion, purchase, dissension, and punishment. Brahmā adopts the first. He asks the *dānavas* why they object to the play and then explains that the purpose of the play is not to show the victory of the *devas* over the *dānavas*, but to show the good and the bad in the thoughts and actions of both. *Nāṭya* is for all the three worlds, not for any specific group.

This is how the fourth question, which deals with the scope of *nāṭya*, is answered. When, reacting to the story depicted, the *dānava*s destroy the performance, Brahmā ordains that *nāṭya* be performed in a specially protected place designated for it, the *nāṭyagraha* or the playhouse. This space is protected in every way by the gods, *gandharva*s, sun, moon, planets, directions, and so on. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* thus ensures that the arts are given special protection from political, ideological, and other forces so that they can do their job in an autonomous and fearless manner. There is a clear distinction, thus, between aesthetics and ideology; the former is not reducible to the latter.

This episode raises the question of whether the purpose of the arts is primarily to show the victory of good over evil, the gods over the *asura*s, as was shown in the first performance? The *Nāṭyaśāstra* shows that this is not the case, that the purpose of the arts is not necessarily to show the superiority of good over evil, but to show what is good and bad in both the actions of the *deva*s and the *dānava*s. The idea is that when both good and evil are shown for what they are, that is impartially, then people will be in a position to choose the good. Thus, *nāṭya* is not purely a moral discourse. It is not didactic in the Western sense of the word. Art is not a morality play, but an attempt to portray each as they are.

The fifth question is what does *nāṭya* accomplish? In verse 108 the answer is given: it depicts duty, pleasure, wealth and power, and sometimes liberation; sometimes the action is funny, sometimes heroic, sometimes pleasurable and sometimes terrifying. All in all, *nāṭya* is created to depict various states, various situations and is meant to portray the world (109-12). *Nāṭya* has been created to instruct all kinds of people, the best, the average, and the worst; it gives self-possession, pleasure, comfort, and so on (113-15). The *nāṭya*, moreover, is comprehensive, including all knowledge, learning, skill, meditation, and action; whatever is not found in it, doesn't really qualify as the above (116). That is why, says Brahmā, the *asura*s should not be angry with the *deva*s; the *nāṭya* is for all and portrays the actions of all the seven worlds (117). The presentation is through various modes (118-19).

The crucial question that the *Nāṭyautpatti adhyāya* raises is about the relationship between art and reality. The key word in the text is *bhāvanam anukīrtinam*, which is not the same as imitation, but suggests a perceptive appreciation. The first dramatic performance was the legendary fight between the *deva*s and the *daitya*s or the gods and the anti-gods. At this, the *dānava*s were annoyed. They obstructed and destroyed the performance. Then, Indra, wielding his jewel encrusted banner staff, the *jarjara*, smote the *asuras* and the *vighnas*. But the *daityas* and the *dānavas* continued to thwart the plays. That is why Brahmā ordered the construction of a separate playhouse where the performance could be held fearlessly. When Virūpākṣa, the spokesman of the *dānavas* and *vighnas*, said, "This drama that you've created is partial to the gods and unfair to us," he had made the error of thinking that the performance was real, and that because the *devas* were shown to win, drama itself was against the *asuras*. But Brahmā had to explain to him not to take art literally: "*Nāṭya* is meant to show both the good and the bad, whatever befalls both the *devas* and the *daityas*." In other words, art shows all possible experiences, but when we watch it, we must not mistake it for literal reality. In contemporary terms I interpret this to mean that art is not solely ideology, nor is it totally devoid of ideology. Art is both related to reality but also different from it. It has, in other words, its own ontological validity, though it is both responsive and responsible to reality as we know it.

What we see in this "myth," according to Professor Shah, is a three-part structure which stresses *anubhava* (experience), *vicāra* (thought), and *ācāra* (conduct). Professor Shah used to argue that this three-fold structure is typical of all traditional Indian theories. The first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is important in that it shows the *anubhava* or the experience portion of the text. Here the experience of the *nāṭya* is by Brahmā, the creator himself. This shows that the origin of the tradition of *nāṭya* is not human, but impersonal. This first chapter therefore illustrates the relationship between Śruti or the unwritten tradition and *Smṛti*, the written or memorized tradition. Śruti, that which has been heard as opposed to *Smṛti*, that which is remembered, consists of what has been perceived directly by the *ṛṣis* (seers) or comes directly from Brahmā, the creator, but is still independent of any particular *ṛṣi* or of Brahmā himself. When the origin of drama is presented as a myth of creation by Brahmā, the real object is to show direct knowledge or *anubhava.* The purpose of *nāṭya* is, ultimately, to uphold the *puruṣārthas*, the cardinal aims of life — *dharma, artha, kāma*, and *mokṣa* or righteousness, wealth, pleasure, and liberation. It is this emphasis on the aims of life that unites this text with many others. What is therefore observed is a complex metaphysics garbed as myth. A well-worked-out, internally consistent, and coherent system of thought is thus imbued in the narrative. By reading the story aright, we can decode the philosophy that inheres in it.

I have tried to suggest, following Shah, that classical Indian texts have both an inner and outer coherence. Internally, they contain a systematic exposition of ideas. This internal order may at times be hard to decipher because of a variety of reasons including obscurity, disruption of textual order, loss of portions of the original, interpolations, and injection of mythical or narrative elements. Nevertheless, once we start looking for inner coherence, the key elements of the text begin to surface, calling for our attention. When these are arranged, a coherent argument in the text emerges. But the text also coheres outwardly with a number of sister-texts, all of which together constitute a tradition or a world-view. Those who have no inkling of such a world-view are likely never to appreciate the value of these texts. In dialogue with one another, major classical texts reveal similar emphases and suppositions. The stress on the *puruṣārtha*s is one such element. It is found not only in the *Mahābhārata* or *Manu-Smṛti*, but also in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In fact, the arrangement of classical texts itself suggests such a classification. There are specific texts devoted to the *Kāmaśāstra* for the pursuit of pleasure, *Arthaśāstra* for the pursuit of power, *Dharmaśāstra* for the pursuit of justice, righteousness, and virtue, and of course, *Mokṣaśāstra* for the pursuit of liberation. There are many other points of convergence and connection between classical Indian texts. For example, *varṇa*, understood not so much as hereditary occupation or hierarchical social structuring, but as professional duty; *jāti*, or citizenship of a self-governing ethnic, usually endogamous unit; *āśrama*s, or the stages of life with their corresponding obligations, and so on. But the *puruṣārtha*s certainly constitute one of the ordering or foundational features of the traditional Indian society. Another important feature found in ample measure in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the tendency to sacralize the secular. In this case, the playhouse itself is rendered sacred through elaborate rituals. The result is that we have three levels of ritual — theatre rituals, ritual as theatre, and theatre as ritual. Indian culture tends to draw the whole natural world, considered fallen or unredeemed in the Abrahamic traditions, into the sphere of the sacred; in the end, the sacred engulfs the secular, leaving nothing outside of itself. This is quite the opposite of the design of modernity which first brackets the sacred, then discards it as worthless, and annexes the whole universe to the secular.

Conclusion

The notion of *paramparā* or the supreme tradition of learning according to my understanding of the *sanātanī* thought is that it is, ultimately, *apauruṣeya*, or impersonal, not dependent on any single human being. This is not the same as considering it revelation, which presupposes the existence not only of God or some other source of ultimate authority, but also a process of mediation. The *apauruṣeya* tradition, on the other hand, is independent of this or that *ṛṣi* (seer), this or that *guru* (teacher). It may be "lost," but cannot be "destroyed." Being grounded in the true, in what is (*sat*), it permits itself to be rediscovered from time to time. Indeed, in so far as it is true, it will be rediscovered. When conditions are unsuitable, it will withdraw into its own shell, lying in wait for such times when it can sprout again (see Professor Kapoor's essay on the loss and recovery of Indian texts for a fuller discussion). The constant interaction between the learned and the common traditions ensures that people are not only constantly educated but it also influences the production and interpretation of the master text. This becomes logically clear if we notice that scholars expounded texts for eight months each year, travelling from place to place, only to retreat to garner and reflect on their experiences during four months of the rainy season. Thus, great texts not only reached the people but were constantly replenished. Today, we need a similar enterprise in which not just classical but the great texts of our culture are expounded among the people. To an extent, this practice is still extant when it comes to our saint-poets, whose words and compositions are still on the lips of the common people of this land. What is required is a greater integration and integrity on the part of contemporary intellectuals to discharge their own debts to their society.

Coming back to a text like the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it is only when we apply it to a "living" form like Indian cinema that we see how deeply it has been internalized by this society. Like the *nāṭya* of yore, contemporary Indian cinema is a form which combines music, dance, poetry (or literature), with action, characters, conflict, and resolution. In a sense, what it shows is not so much the triumph of good over evil, but the consequences of actions, both good and otherwise. It therefore conduces, or ought to conduce to, the *puruṣārtha*s. Certainly, it is dominated by two *rasas*, which are often intertwined: *śṛṅgāra* (eros, in the widest sense of the term) and *vīra* (heroism), but others such as *karuṇa* (pity or compassion), *hāsya* (the comic), *raudra*, (wrath), *bhayānaka* (terrifying), and *adbhuta* (wondrous) are also found. Professor Shah argues that, ultimately, all the rasas belong to two groups — the *śṛṅgāra* group and the *raudra* group, the former life-affirming, while the latter life-destroying. The depictions of actions which promote the one or the other are therefore instructive in that they show us both what is desirable and what is avoidable.

Just as the motifs of the murals of Ajantā are now so widespread as to be a part of any handloom curtain or bedsheet, the ideas of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are also so prevalent that they inform almost every folk performance or narrative in India, whether the authors of these works know it or not. If our classical texts are read in the "right" manner, such connections and practices can be better understood and elucidated, adding to our knowledge of who we are and who we were.

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23

Neither Amnesia nor Aphasia
Knowledge, Continuity and Change in Indian Poetics

Avadhesh Kumar Singh

I

WHEN human thought assumes systematic, scientific and formulaic-mantric form, it becomes *śāstra*. The śāstric thinking lays the foundation for further consideration, interpretation, expostulation and re-formulation of different śāstric discourses on poetry, philosophy, polity, economics, music, arts and architecture among others. This tradition in India, a cradle of diverse domains of knowledge since the dawn of human civilization, led to the construction of various knowledge systems and helped it in earning the place of eminence among the civilizations of the world. The range — scope and depth — of Indian knowledge systems is immense, as it includes the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, and the six *darśana* in it without excluding *nāstika darśanas*. All systems earn our attention for their comprehensiveness, catholicity of mind and many-sidedness. They do not keep their subscribers in any space of ignorance of others. These schools posit their positions only after their proposition and critique (*maṇḍana* and *khaṇḍana*) of the *pūrva-pakṣa*. Such an instance of intellectual honesty and methodology is not only unique but also rare in the entire history of human thought.[1]

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1. It would not be incongruous for me to discuss a category like *siddhānta* to give an idea about the Indian tradition here. The term is used loosely as a synonym or equivalent for English term "principle," though the Sanskrit poetical tradition has its definite meaning. The *Mahābhārata* proposes that the proposition of a subject before others is called *sthāpanā*, but when we establish our view (*mat*) after removing the counter-arguments, related to it and borne out of the concerned subject and when the consequent view or meaning is acceptable to others as well, it is called *siddhānta* (*sthāpanākṣepa siddhānta paramārthajñātam gatai — The Mahābhārata*, 1,70,44). Bharatamuni in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* states that minute consideration of the opposite

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The terms *sāhitya-śāstra, kāvya-śāstra* and *alaṁkāra-śāstra* are used synonymously for different reasons. The last term earns its name due to

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→ views and different ideas pertaining to a topic or subject in the proposition of conclusion received after their logical disputation is called *siddhānta* — (*pūrvapakṣam nirasya siddhapakṣa sthāpanam, Śabdakalpadruma,* Part VI). Another view is that when we prove our view with certainty regarding a subject, it is called *siddhānta* (*sidhhāuanto niścayo yasmin — Amarkośa Ṭīkā, 73*) On the other hand, the *Nyāyakośa* states that *siddhānta* involves articulation of doubts regarding the subject that we wish to propose, consideration of the opposite view, its disputation and establishment of one's view with desired evidences (*pramāṇa dypanyasen pūrvapakṣa nirasake siddhapakṣaya sthāpanā rūpe — Nyāyakośa,* Bhīmācārya Jhalakikar edition) According to the *Nyāyakośa,* the observation of this process is desirable by all in all the places. The *Vācaspatyamakośa* (Part V) defines *siddhānta* as the establishment of one's view with the help of different evidences of the knowledge like perception after disputing the opposite view — (*siddha niścintanto yacat. Pramāṇa ghupanyasen pūrvapakṣa nirasae siddhapakṣya sthāpanā rūpe*). Following the same line *Tarkabhāṣā,* a treatise of *darśana,* states that when there is an acceptable view or conclusion after logical disputation and necessary evidences, it is *siddhānta* (*pramāṇīkatva namyupagatarthaḥ siddhāntaḥ — Keśavamitra Tarkabhāṣā Ṭīkā*).

Apart from the poetical and philosophical traditions, the *Āyurveda,* the science of life, too has defined *siddhānta* as the *nirṇaya* or judgement acceptable after being examined by arguments and evidences of various souls [*atha siddhāntaḥ. siddhānto nam yaḥ parikṣakai bahurvidhām parokṣya hetubhi sādhiyatva sthāpyet nirṇaḥ sa siddhānta* (*Caraka Saṁhitā, Vimānasthānam Adhyāya* 8/337)]. The above definition makes the following elements or stages clear:

(i) Indication of the *pūrvapakṣha* or the former opposite view.

(ii) Explication of impropriety in the view through arguments and evidences.

(iii) Systematic establishment of one's view.

(iv) Acceptance of the view by others.

The schematization is different from the dialectical paradigm of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Here thesis is preceded by anti-thesis (*pratipakṣa*) of an already existing thesis (*pūrvapakṣa*). The thesis (*uttarapakṣa*) after its acceptance by others is called *siddhānta.* The above discussion speaks volumes about the methodology of philosophical, theoretical and poetical enunciation in the Indian tradition.

For the sake of enlarging the perspective, let me add it here that the term became part of common usage in Hindī and other languages in such a way that the critics like Mahāvīra Prasād Dwivedī, Rām Candra Śukla, Śyāmsundar Dās used it but did not define or explicate it. In Hindī *Śabdasāgara* (Part VII, 3542) edited by Śiva Sundara Dās the term has been loosely defined as a well-thought out view, accepted as truth by a certain group or school. Jainendra Kumar too considers it as a "faith" or

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centrality of *alaṁakāra* in the literary discourse. The criticism of literary discourse is termed as literary criticism (*sāhitya ālocanā* or *samīkṣā*), and criticism of literary criticism is known as *mīmāṁsā* in our tradition. The terms of literary discussion in their germinal state may be seen as early as in the Vedic discourse. However, their first systematic formulation appears in Bharatmuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (fourth century BC?). The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, apart from being a treatise of *nāṭya* and exposition of *rasa* in the sixth chapter, contains discussion of the terms such as *alaṁkāra*, *chanda*, *guṇa* and *pravṛtti*. In the process of doing so, it emerges as an encyclopaedia of arts, particularly theatre arts, and a patronymic text from where different streams trickle and become rivers in the course of time in which different *ācārya*s coursed and contributed to it as well.

Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is to Indian critical tradition what Aristotle's *Poetics* is to the Greek or Western mind. A statement such as this is a resounding commonplace with much truth in it. The fact, however, is that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is even more than that in many senses, for the text in itself is an exquisite study into the process of Indian minds' construction of knowledge and its texts.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a systematic study of *nāṭaka*,[2] the most exquisite of all *kāvya*s (poetic discourse), which is the finest of all forms of arts. In its study of *nāṭaka* and its ancillaries like poetry, music, dance, sculpture and other fine arts the author follows the traditional mode of invocation, something that one does not see in the Greek poetical texts, though the Greeks too were pagans like the Indians and had many gods to appease. When the Indian mind, in the form of its manifestors Bhārata, Kuṅtaka, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemendra among others, invokes his god(s) or goddess(es), he does not indulge in mere ritualism. He, in the process of invoking the god, goddess or both submits his self to a larger self. The creation demands submission of the self to the superior being, for by doing so one becomes integrated to that being. Without being so or having at least a fragment of it, it is not possible to construct texts of lasting significance. Writing a text or constructing a system

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→ *viśvāsa* that attains its definite role after passing through argument and counter-argument. One can see that the term lost its definite character and meaning in contemporary Hindī criticism, as the mainstream academic world moved away from the traditional critical rigour with the proliferation of the Western/English critical terms.

[2] The term *nāṭaka* is often translated as drama. However, *nāṭaka* is more comprehensive than drama, as it involves dance, action, sculpture and music as well. A better corresponding equivalent term for the word *nāṭaka*, as suggested by Professor Kapil Kapoor, would be "performance."

of knowledge has never been an exercise in ego pandering in Indian critical tradition. It excelled in self-effacement and also in its annihilation of self for the larger good.[3] In fact, exorcising the ego was/is a precondition for creation of something of larger good in our tradition in which the doer is merely an instrument, for the larger cosmic forces operate through him/her to achieve their ends.

The invocation in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to Pitāmaha Brahmā, the creator, and Maheśvar Śiva, the destroyer, is followed by the statement of *prayojana*. The Chapter I of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is primarily concerned with the origin of the *nāṭya*, the purpose behind writing it, and its functions. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is so inclusive that it leaves no subject pertaining to theatre, stage and arts out of its compass. Bharatamuni defines *nāṭaka* thus:

yoayam svabhāvo lokasya sukhaduḥkhasmanvitaḥ ।
soangadyābhinayopeto nāṭyamityabhidhīyate ॥
— *NS*, I, 121

> When the imitation of different natures of common people, happiness and unhappiness combined in one, appear on the stage in the form of acting, it is called *nāṭya*.

In order to understand *nāṭya* in its completeness, one must understand the creative process that begins with imitation of the world and results in its manifestation in an audio-visual form of the *nāṭya*. Bharatamuni says, *bhaviṣyataśca lokasya sarvakarmanadarśakam*. Thus, the role of probability has also been included here for the audience. The process of *nāṭya* is complete when it comes on stage in the audio-visual form. Recognizing the role of audience, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* considers it as one of the important components of theatre, for the success or failure of a *nāṭya* depends on the audience.

The *nāṭya*, made of *patha*, i.e., recitative elements from the *Ṛgveda*, the song from the *Sāmaveda*, *abhinaya* or enactment from the *Yajurveda*, *rasa* or emotive states of being from the *Atharvaveda*, is an imitation of three worlds: an actual world, the writer's world, an actor's world by the spectators. Further, *nāṭya* combines in it three levels: first at the poetic level a dramatic piece is created by an author, which is subsequently taken up for production by the stage-performing artists. Visualization of this stage production by audience forms the ultimate stage of *nāṭya*. From the poet's point of view, *nāṭya* is basically *anukīrtana*.[4] It is *anukaraṇa* (redoing or imitation) for the actor, and *anudarśana* or *anubhāvana* for the audience.

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[3] In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the self-effacement is discernible at the level of narrativization of the origin of *nāṭya* in the first Chapter. Instead of claiming credit for him/itself, Bharatamuni or the tradition constructs a narrative that gives the credit to Brahmā for the origin of *nāṭya*. Moreover, the philosophical tradition speaks of another way of self-effacement in Indian tradition apart from the annihilation of the self, i.e., to enlarge the self in such a way that it permeates all. The *Īśopaniṣad* says:

yastu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmanyavanupaśyanti ।
sarvabhūteṣu cātmānam tato na vijugupsate ॥ 6
yasmin sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmaivabhudvijānataḥ ।
tatra ko mohā kaḥ śokaḥ ektvamanupāsyataḥ ॥ 7

Here the word *sarvasya*, as used by Bharatamuni means all kinds of people, i.e., good or bad. And finally by the word *bhāvānukīrtana*, Bharatamuni means the representation of the natures and actions of the people along with the same emotions and feelings that they have in real. Moreover, drama is *saptadvīpānukaraṇam*, i.e., representing all kinds of emotions, natures, situations and good and evil deeds of all kinds of peoples of all the places of all seven continents. Here three worlds mean the world of past, of present and of future.[5] Dramatist imitates the actions of all the people in the past, present and future. *Nāṭya* is not an imitation of either gods or demons but of all the feeling or emotions of all the people of all kinds.[6] Further, it would cover all people of all ages, of all places of all the seven worlds, *saptadvīpānukaraṇam nāṭyehiasmin prathiṣṭhitam* (*NS*, I, 119). Bharatamuni further says that righteous

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4. Here it is worth mentioning that the *nāṭya* is one of ten types of *rūpaka*, as they are mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and later elaborated by Dhañanjaya in the *Daśarūpaka*. The terms *anukṛti* and *anukīrtana* are different in the sense that the former is an imitation of individual being or situation, and the latter of universal, "as it ought to be" of Aristotle.

5. *naikantoatra bhavātam devānam cānubhavnam* ।
trailokyāsyasya sarvasya nāṭyam bhāvanukīrtnam ॥
— *NS*, I, 107

6. *devānāmsurananañca ragyāmathakutimbinām* ।
brahmarṣinañca vijñeyanāṭyam vṛtantadarśakam ॥
— *NS*, I, 120

nānābhāvopsampannām nānāvasthantartmakam ।
lokavṛttānukaraṇam nāṭyametanmayākṛtam ॥
— I, 112

uttamādhamamadhyānām narānām karmasaṁśayam ।
hitopadeśajanam dhṛti krīdāsukhādikṛtam ॥
— I.113

atadraseṣu bhaveṣu sarvakāmkriyāsvath ।
sarvopadeśajananam nāṭyam loke bhaviṣyati ॥
— I.114

conduct, sport, politics, economics, labour, hardworking, comic situations, war, desires and death are found in different parts of drama as various themes.[7] Thus, Bharatamuni's *nāṭya* has something for all kinds of people, of all the places and in all the places. In other words, the *nāṭya* is like the *kalpavṛkṣa* and one can get whatever one desires from it. It teaches *dharma* or righteous conduct to those who are against it, love to those who desire gratification of physical services, chastises the ill-bred and unruly, promotes self-restraint in the disciplined, bestows courage upon cowards, enthusiasm upon heroic persons, enlightenment upon people of poor intellect, wisdom upon the learned, entertainment upon kings, and stability of mind upon people afflicted with sorrow. Moreover, it educates persons longing for material prosperity about the ways of earning, and brings composure to persons with agitated minds.[8]

Along with these educative purposes the *nāṭya* helps in achieving the *puruṣārtha catuṣṭaya*, though in the Chapter IV, 3, applicable to *smāvakāra*, Bharatamuni drops *mokṣa* from the list. Further, the *nāṭya* provides delight to its audience or spectators through *rasa*, the soul of the *nāṭya*. The *rasa* theory is one of the greatest contributions of Indian aesthetics through Bharatamuni, and no subsequent poetician could be indifferent to it. It is so comprehensive that it covers all forms of literary discourse, not just for instance tragedy in case of Aristotle's *catharsis*. Further, it includes total effect of a text, and also of its parts that provide the same effect of relish, as the whole would.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is in the sphere of its existence a multi-media text. It is not concerned merely with *nāṭaka* but with other forms of art like music, dance, sculpture and poetry. Further, in *nāṭaka* it is concerned with its different aspects, i.e., theatre, stage, acting among others. And all these aspects are dealt with in detail in it. Since no knowledge statement is restricted either to one kind of tradition, or form, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as a text of knowledge does not confine itself to one form of drama, art, or domain of knowledge. Forms as such are external manifestations of the creative energy, they are not so significant as the seat of creative energy, i.e., mind or idea, the motion of the mind. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* focuses on the principal artistic form, i.e., *nāṭaka* and its ancillary forms but not on the subforms of the form like tragedy, comedy, tragic comedy, dramatic romances. So the consideration of a problem in the Indian critical tradition is neither narrow nor exclusive. Rather it is interformal and interdisciplinary.

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[7] *kvaciddharmaḥ kvañcitkrīḍa kvacidarthaḥ kvacitcham* ।
kvachiddāsyam kvacidhyudham kvacidkāmaḥ kvacitvadhaḥ ॥
— *NS*, I, 108

[8] *dharmo dharmapravṛttānām kāmaḥ kāmopasevinām* ।
nigraho durvinītanām mattānām damankriya ॥
klivana dharṣtyajananmutsaḥ śūrmaninam ।
abudhanam vivodhasca vaiduṣyam viduṣam ॥
īśvaranām vilāśca sthairyam dukhāditarsya ca ।
arthopajivīnāmartho dhrutirudvignacetsam ॥
— *NS*, I,109-111

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a comprehensive, systematic, unambiguous and holistic knowledge-text. As a comprehensive *śāstra*, it includes both *loka* and *śāstra* in it. As a *śāstra*, its point of reference should primarily be *śiṣṭa*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, however, includes *loka* (folk) and its traditions whose point of reference is not the *śāstra* but *anubhava* (experience) and *vyavahāra* (behaviour) of the common people. The sage poetician departs from the tradition of *śāstric* abstract and formulaic writing by taking recourse to the descriptive-narrative mode of *kāvya* for that makes it accessible to a larger audience — *loka* and *śiṣṭa* (popular and elite). Against the general impression that Sanskrit poetics and its poeticians excluded *loka* from the ambit of theoretical considerations, the facts, evident as they are from the texts, speak otherwise. The *nāṭya* as an artistic form was for that matter evolved for the folk. He calls it *Vinodajanandmaloke* (I.123). Apart from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Indian poetics, Bhāmaha of the *alaṁkāra* school in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra* stressed the significance of the knowledge of *loka* and its behaviour. Without its essential knowledge, he considered it inconceiv-able to be a poet, particularly a *satkavi* or good poet (*Kāvyālaṁkāra* I, 19).

A critical text like an edifice rests on the frame, wings and bricks of critical terms and categories. In a competent critical text these terms and categories are precise, unambiguous without any play or overlapping. This ability of Bharatamuni is discernible all over the *Nāṭyaśāstra* particularly in the description of *karaṇa* (combined movements of the hands and feet in dance) and *aṅgahāras* (movements of the body). Bharata enumerates all thirty-two *aṅgahāras* and 108 *karaṇas*. He enlists them precisely in terms of numbers and then describes them so graphically and minutely that they can be painted, postured and also sculpted.

Further, he does not oversight any aspect of imititation after proposing his theory of imitation in Chapter I. He discusses physical representations, vocal representation, costumes and make up, patterns, and prosody. Further, the author structures the treatise in Chapters (36-37). Each chapter is numbered and, though untitled, deals with certain principal issue in detail. It can be summed up in the following manner:

(i) *Nāṭyotpatti* (Origin of Drama)
(ii) *Prekṣāgṛhalakṣaṇam* (Description of the Playhouse)
(iii) *Raṅgadaivatapūjana* (Salutation or *pūjana* to the Gods of the Stage)
(iv) *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa* (Description of the Class-dance)
(v) *Pūrvaraṅgavidhāna* (Preliminaries of a Play)
(vi) *Rasa*
(vii) *Bhāva* (Emotions and other states of Being)
(viii) *Upāṅgābhinaya* (Gestures of Minor Limbs)
(ix) *Hastābhinaya* (Gestures of Hands)
(x) *Śarīrābhinaya* (Gestures of Other Limbs of the Body)
(xi) *Carividhāna* or Movements
(xii) *Maṇḍala vidhāna* or Movements
(xiii) *Gatipracāra* (Different Gaits)
(xiv) *Kakṣyapravṛtti* (Different Zones and Local Styles or Usages)
(xv) *Chandovidhāna* (Rules of Prosody)
(xvi) *Chandoviraciti* (Metrical Patterns)
(xvii) *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* in *Vāgābhinaya* (Attributes of poetic Discourse or Diction of Play)
(xviii) *Bhāṣābhidhāna* (Rules of the Usage of Language)
(xix) *Svaravyañjana sambodhana* (Modes of Address and Intonation)
(xx) *Daśarūpavidhāna* (Ten Kinds of Play)
(xxi) *Sandhyāṅgavikalpa* (Limbs of Segments)
(xxii) *Vṛttividhāna* (Styles)
(xxiii) *Ahāryābhinaya* (Costumes and Make up)
(xxiv) *Sāmānyābhinaya* (Harmonious Representation of different Natures)
(xxv) *Vaiśikopacāra* (Dealings With Courtesans)
(xxvi) *Citrābhinaya* (Varied Representation Through Acting)
(xxvii) *Siddhīvyañjaka* (Success in Dramatic Representation)

(*N.B.* : The Chapters from xxviii to xxxiii deal with music, songs, melody and musical instruments.)

(xxviii) *Jāti-svara-lakṣaṇa*

(xxix) *Tatatodhyavidhāna*

(xxx) *Suṣiratodhyavidhāna*

(xxxi) *Tālavyañjaka*

(xxxii) *Dhruvavidhāna*

(xxxiii) *Atodhyavidhāna*

(xxxiv) *Prākṛtvidhāna* (Three Natures of Men and Women)

(xxxv) *Bhūmikāvikalpa* (Division of Members of Theatre Group and their attributes)

(xxxvi) *Nāṭyāvatāra* (Narratives of the Curse of the Sons of Bharatamuni and of the King Nahuṣa)

The editions that have xxxvii chapters have the narrative of Nahuṣa separately in it.

The principal thematic preoccupation is stated succinctly in one word in the last line at the end of each chapter. It could easily serve as the title of the concerned chapter. This sums up the entire chapter in one word speaking volumes about thematic structuring of the text whose 36/37 Chapters can be reduced to 36/37 words, if one intends to do so. Its use at the end acts as the defamiliarizing device, as it does not condition our reading of the contents of the chapter. By unfolding the title at the end of the chapter, the author provides the answer to the puzzled minds for which the chapter may be a riddle, and makes the reader re-think the entire discussion in the chapter in the light of the title. Also, it allows readers to verify their tentative positions and understanding at the end of the chapter. Moreover, the chapterization is structured on philosophical and thematic grounds. The *nāṭya* has eleven constituents (*nāṭyāṅga*) — *rasa, bhāva, abhinaya, dharmī, vṛtti, pravṛtti, siddhi, svara, atodhya, gaṇa,* and *raṅga,* and they are discussed in the subsequent chapters.[9] Further, the number of chapters in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is 36/37, as discussed above. The number corresponds to 36/37 ontological categories of Kashmir Śaivism.[10]

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[9] Abhinavagupta mentions that Bharatamuni quotes Ācārya Kohala's opinion that accords the number of constituents of *nāṭya* to be eleven:

rasa bhāva abhinaya dharmī vṛtti ।
pravṛtti siddhi, svara adhyodhya gan raṅga ॥
— *Abhinavabhārati*, 6/10

Like Bharatamuni, Abhinavagupta considers the number to be five, *abhinayatrayam (āṅgikā, vācikā tathā āhārya gītaḥ ātodyam) ceti pañcāṅga nāṭyam* ॥
— *Abhinavabhāratī*, 6/10

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a mega patronymic text of poetics because it contains seeds of some major subsequent schools. And all subsequent theories of *dhvani, vakrokti, aucitya, alaṁkāra* and *rīti* interact with it in one way or the other. The *ācārya*s and commentators intervened in it from within and in the process of doing so they modernized it in different ages. For instance, the theoreticians of *dhvani* critiqued *rasa* in order to establish centrality of *dhvani* in poetic discourse, as all proponents of different schools did. Their interventions led to new interpretations of *rasa* in the light of *dhvani,* and as an instance of synthesis, *rasa dhvani* came into existence. These interventions from the *rasa* theorists, and non-*rasa* theorists enriched the tradition that continues till now in different forms.

Apart form the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there are numerous critical and theoretical texts in different schools in Indian poetics that can serve as case studies in constitution of knowledge. Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* is an exquisite instance of systematically constructing a poetical treatise in the Indian tradition. The reason behind singling it out is that it deals with basic assumptions of literary theory.[11] If one considers just the first *pariccheda,* one sees the way the text has been structured. After the brief invocation, the critic deals with the *prayojana* (objectives) of composing *kāvya* or literary discourse, its *hetu*s (means), *yogyatā* (competence or qualifications) of the prospective composer, and *doṣa* (faults). Then he defines *kāvya* (*śabdārtho sahitau kāvyam*), its division as aural and visual, its consideration on the basis of subject-matter, of stature of the *nāyaka*, of different literary forms, style, of embellishment of speech (*vāṇī*), of faults of speech and of use of words. The ideas and paradigms in the text are so systematically, precisely and densely written that the author mentions, for instance, the faults of speech in a *śloka* (I *pariccheda*, 47) and then explains them in the remaining 12 *śloka*s of the *pariccheda*. Such a precise, systematic and methodical constitution of knowledge in different Schools and texts of Indian poetical tradition is rare, and not found, if I am permitted to state it with utmost modesty, even in the *Bible* of the Western criticism, Aristotle's *Poetics*, as it exists.

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[10] Please see the beginning of every chapter of Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhāratī* for the discussion of these 36/37 categories.

[11] For detailed discussion of the assumptions of literary theory please see Kapil Kapoor, "Assumptions of Literary Theory," *Literary Theory: Indian Conceptual Framework*, New Delhi: East-West Press, 1998, 64-83.

II

Indian poetical tradition and constitution of knowledge in it, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, has been received differently — either glorified or vilified without knowing or understanding it. Both saw it as fossilized and static, and in the process ignored its existence and manifestation in new forms. The questions pertaining to "break" or "rupture," "amnesia" or "aphasia" in Indian critical tradition, though initially they hurt, have served it more than mere emotional glorification, for they have compelled us to re-read the tradition.[12] Let me re-read Indian critical tradition in the light of these questions.

Since Indian critical tradition forms an integral part of Indian intellectual, it would be congruous to consider the nature of Indian intellectual tradition itself. In the words of Pandit Bhagavat Shastri Ji, Indian intellectual tradition is *bhāratīya jñānaparamparā sanātana gaṅgāpravāha* (the Indian intellectual tradition is like an eternal everflowing Gaṅgā). Professor Kapil Kapoor describes it as "a continuous and cumulative tradition of thinkers, texts and conceptual structures in different areas of human thought."[13] (Kapoor 17) He further states, "In each case, there is a source text, primary texts, *saṁgraha* texts, recensions and a long line of commentators" (Kapoor 8). Since Indian poetical/critical tradition is integral to Indian intellectual tradition, so the metaphor of the Gaṅgā is applicable to it. The Indian critical tradition flows like the sacred river Gaṅgā after its origin (*āvirbhāva*), and many tributaries join it on its way. The tributaries get merged into it (*antarbhāva*). This *antarbhāva* leads to *lopa* (disappearance). The river, if there comes a mountain or any intervention in its way, halts and goes ahead after deflection. Some distributaries go out of it as the branches of the main river that may appear as the re-emergence (*prādurbhāva*) of what was submerged. This process of submergence of some and re-emergence of some other goes on continuously in the critical tradition.

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[12] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith & Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, London & New York: Routledge, 1981; Ganesh Devy, *After Amnesia: Tradition and Change in Indian Literary Criticism*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1992.

[13] For elucidation and illustration to support the point, please see the entire discussion under the sub-head "Indian Intellectual Tradition" in *Literary Theory: Indian Conceptual Framework*, pp. 7-13.

Here let me add that Indian critical tradition, like the Indian intellectual tradition is neither singular nor exclusive. However, poetical traditions, assumptions and methodology in Sanskrit, the language of knowledge composition, form the core and foundation of Indian poetics.

The last statement regarding the continuity of the Indian critical tradition with special reference to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* needs substantiation. Even the sceptics of Indian critical tradition accept the continuity of the Indian critical tradition till Paṇḍit Jagannāth. Since the questions of "break," "rupture" "end" or "amnesia" in Indian critical tradition pertain to the post-Jagannāth period, my endeavour would be directed at examining Indian critical tradition and its continuity or otherwise in the post-Jagannāth period.

The sceptics commit gross injustice against the Indian critical traditions either deliberately or out of their ignorance when they speak of amnesia or rupture in Indian critical tradition because none of these happened. The facts regarding the Indian critical tradition however, speak for themselves. If one goes by the quantity of works, though it is always not a valid criterion, the number of works written in Sanskrit on various Indian schools of poetics in general and on the *rasa* theory in particular during the post-Jagannāth period was more than what happened during the pre-Jagannāth period,[14] though some may still claim that many of these were in the forms of commentaries — *ṭīkā* or *bhāṣya*. But these sceptics forget that the *ṭīkā* and *bhāṣya* form the core of all Indian critical traditions. The subsequent thinkers and critics contribute to tradition in the form of their *bhāṣya* and *ṭīkā*. Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, to take an example from the philosophical discourse, did not compose a new philosophical treatise. Rather he wrote a *bhāṣya* on the *Gītā*, and by doing so he enriched the tradition and lent a new continuity to it with his interpretation.

Apart from various *ṭīkā*s and *bhāṣya*s in Sanskrit, the new tendency of *lokabhāṣīkaraṇa* that had set in during the *bhakti* period impacted Indian critical tradition in a positive manner.[15] It happened first with the philosophical

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[14] Please see the appendices to prove my point, prepared from different sources and texts. The Appendices lay no claim to their completeness. There may be many more books and manuscripts available in different non-mainstream libraries. I have on my part mentioned the bibliographical details whatever were available to me. For helping me in preparing the Appendices I am thankful to Sri Rajendra Chotaliyaji.

[15] I use the word *lokabhāṣākaraṇa* for the process of transferring of knowledge or tradition into *lokabhāṣā*s, for which at times the term used is "vernacularization," a politically incorrect word, because "vernaculars" were the languages of the slaves. Here I must add that in Indian tradition *loka* and *śiṣṭa* are not binary opposites, as

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knowledge and then with Indian critical traditions. The *bhakti* poets like Kabīra, Sūra, Tulsī in Hindī and Jñāneśvara in Marāṭhī, Narsi Mehta in Gujarātī, Nanak in Punjābī among others, rendered dense, mystical and abstract philosophical knowledge into *lokabhāṣās*. The critical works followed the works of *bhakti* poets. The important works of criticism written during the period included Kṛpārāma's *Hitarañjanī* (1541) that analysed the *rasas* on the basis of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the types of heroines, and Bhānudutta's *Rasamañjarī.* Sūrdāsa wrote *Sāhityalaharī* (1550) on poetics and rhetorics. Mohanlāl Miśra and Gopa authored *Śṛṅgārasāgara* (1559) and *Alaṁkāracandrikā* respectively. The later Mogul period saw efflorescence of Braja *bhāṣā* that in reality was watered and nourished by the Sanskrit literary discourse. During the period some of the poets wrote both in Sanskrit and Braja, while others were influenced by it. Bihārī's *Satsaī*, for instance, bears distinct influence of the works of Kālīdās, *Amarūkśataka, Gāthāsaptaśatī,* and *Āryasaptaśatī.* Mahākavi Dev composed his poetical/critical works in Braja/Hindī, and also *Śṛṅgāravilāsinī* in Sanskrit. Bhikhārīdās wrote *Kāvyanirṇaya* in Braja, a language of the people of the western part of present U.P., which is also an endeavour of *lokabhāṣīkaraṇa* of Indian poetics, as it rendered the Indian critical tradition in the language of the people without laying any claim to the originality of contribution. In the process, the tradition assumed a new garb, though the principal ideas remain the same. And the continuity of ideas is more significant than the language, the bearer of ideas. Unfortunately, the subsequent *rīti* period of Hindī literature (1650-1850) is "more sinned against than sinning" primarily by the moralist tone of the Dvivedī period of Hindī literature, led by Mahāvīra Prasad Dvivedī. This led to oversighting of critical activities during the period. Following Keśavdās's *Kavipriya*, and *Rasikpriya* that at times appear to be a blend re-statement of Sanskrit poeticians like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, models for Keśava, the works like Matirām's *Rasarāja*, Dev's *Rasavilāsa*, *Sukhasāgarataraṅga*, Toṣanidhi's *Sudhānidhi*, Padmakar's *Jagavinoda*, and Venipravīṇa's *Navarasataraṅga* were composed. The other group of poeticians

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→ the West-trained minds have made it out to be. For example, in the "Introductory Chapter" entitled *Paspasabmika* of *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali clearly pronounces, *prayukto lokārthaḥ*. In this tradition, *loka* is prestiged over the *śiṣṭa*. Author belonging to *śiṣṭa* has no authority. The *loka* is the authority of word, meaning and the relationship between them. Elaborating it, he further says that we do not approach a grammarian (at the top rung of the hierarchy of *śiṣṭa* in the world of words) for words in the manner we approach a potter for pots. For words and meaning one has to go to *loka*. Thus, in Indian tradition, *loka* and *śiṣṭa* are complementary, and not adversaries in binary mode.

of the period took Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* and Viśvanātha Kavirāj's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* as its model, and critics like Cintāmani Tripāṭhī (*Kavikulakalpataru*), Deva (*Ṣabdadarṣana*), Śruti Miśra (*Kāvyasiddhānta*), Kulapati Miśra (*Rasarahasya*), Śripati (*Kāvyasaroja*), Somnāth Miśra (*Rasapiyūṣanidhi*), Bhikhārīdās (*Kāvyanirṇaya*), Pratāp Sāhī (*Kāvyavilāsa*) commented on the *guṇas* as the proper forms of excellence. Cintāmaṇi, a critic of the period, proposed *dhvanikāvya* as great poetry. These poeticians, however imitative they might appear to be, sustained the unbroken continuity of the Indian critical tradition.

The following period after the *rīti* period in Hindī, i.e., the Bhāratendu Period (1850-1900) witnessed the emergence of modern Indian languages from the *lokabhāṣā* of the preceding periods in the nineteenth century. The period marked development of prose in these languages particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Prose, being more suitable for articulation of ideas was used for critical writings as well. Consequently, the mode of composition of critical discourse shifted from verse to prose. The process of interaction of Indian critical tradition in Sanskrit with new daughter languages began in this period. A new thing that happened during the period was the encounter of Indian critical traditions with the Western, particularly English, critical traditions as a consequence of colonization. This added a new problematic dimension to the development of the Indian critical tradition because while the Orientalists and Indologists raved in the praise of the so-called "classical" Sanskrit,[16] the Anglicists with the new education system expelled the knowledge in Sanskrit in the new educational institutions, as they very systematically de-systematized the indigenous systems. The adversarial mode of relationship between Sanskrit and its daughter and sister languages so subtly pedalled during the period became an unmitigated curse, as Sanskrit for various reasons came to be associated later with a caste, and not only poetical and critical traditions but the entire knowledge in Sanskrit came to be abandoned. The seeds of adversarial relationship among the Indian languages sown during the colonial period ultimately led to linguistic division of the country in the post-Independence period, that was the second Partition of the country, and worse than its first counterpart. The point not to be missed here is that English emerged as the master language. All these divergences notwithstanding, Indian critical tradition continued in different Indian languages at multiple levels that I would like to discuss by focusing on Hindī criticism, as a case.

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[16] Please see Fredrick Max Müller, *India-What can it Teach Us?* Delhi: Rupa, 2002. I published 1883. (Lecture III, "Human Interest of Sanskrit Literature," 57-81).

It was a period of re-emergence of Indian critical tradition in modern Hindī prose. Though the critical output during the period in Hindī was not so profuse in quantity because Hindī criticism was in nascent state, yet it is significant from the viewpoint of purpose and direction, as in certain ways it questioned the *rīti* poeticians' obsession with prosodic artificiality, categorization and description of heroines (*nāyikābheda*). In his brief life Bhārtaendu, after whom the period is named in Hindī literature, contributed immensely to the tradition with his intervention in the form of his essays and other forms of his writing. His essay *Nāṭaka* (1883) studied the rules and processes of ancient Indian dramaturgy, and proposed harmonization of the Eastern and Western principles of dramatic criticism. The sole purpose of the work was not the analysis of the rules laid down in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but consideration of literature in the light of these principles for recognizing the dynamism of literature.

With his brief and sketchy contribution Bhārtendu lent continuity to Indian critical tradition, with his exposition of critical principles bequeathed to Hindī criticism by Sanskrit poetics and the Western-English critical traditions, received as part of the unfortunate colonial encounter. His essay *Nāṭaka* is an illustration of this continuity and synthesis, as it confluences both indigenous and alien traditions, and initiates the process of establishing critical sense. While discussing the *rasa* he expressed his dissatisfaction with their number, as they did not, according to him, accommodate the new experience. He had critical audacity to question the sacredness of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as the fifth Veda and also the rigidity of the traditionalists who did not distinguish between subtle shades of emotions, and confused the *bhakti rasa* with the *śānta* and the Sāṁkhya with the *śṛṅgāra rasa:*

> *Bhakti* — tell me the *rasa* under which you would include it, for this *rasa* has a permanent (*sthayin*) validity with the devotee and adored deity as its *alambana* (fulcrum), and scriptural references and pious gatherings as its *uddipan* (exciting element). How can you include it under the *shanta rasa*, for its permanent mood is *vairagya*.[17]

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[17] Please see Bhārtendu Hariścandra, *Bhārtendu Samagra*, ed. Hemant Sharma, Varanasi: Hindi Pracharak Publications, 2000.

In his letter Bhārtendu refused to accept sacredness of classical poetic doctrines, as he stated, "It is really fantastic that the belief about the *rasa*s is supposed to be identical with the faith in the religion of the Vedas, a faith which enjoins an uncritical acceptance of whatever is written therein and regards anything contrary as a fall

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However, he did not limit his dissatisfaction to mere questioning, and proposed four additional *rasas*, i.e., *bhakti* (devotion), *vātsalya* (parental bliss), *sakhya* (friendly feeling), and *ānanda* (bliss).

The tradition of interaction between Sanskrit and other Indian languages like Hindī continues uninterrupted during the period and after. In this chain of continuity in Hindī, apart from the critical works of creative writers like Jay Śaṅkar Prasād, Sūryakānta Tripāṭhī 'Nirālā' ("Prabandha Pratima" and "Preface" to *Parimal*) and Ācārya Jānakīvallabha Śāstrī (*Sāhitya Darśana* and *Cintadhārā*) one must mention Rām Candra Śukla's *Rasa-Mīmāṁsā*. The treatise critiques the *rasa* theory in Hindī and examines it in the light of new psychological theories and critical positions of New Critics, in particular I.A. Richards. After Śukla one can see it in operation in the works of Nandadulāre Vājpāyee, Haẓārī Prasād Dwivedī, Saccidānanda Hīrānand "Agyeya," Nagendra, Rām Mūrti Tripāṭhī, Baldev Upādhyāya, Gulābrāī, Bhāgīrath Miśra, Tārakānāth Bali, Deśrāj Singh Bhāṭī, Saccidānanda Caudhary, Niramla Jain and Kumar Vimal among others.[18] In other modern Indian languages the engagement with Indian critical tradition continues through the critical endeavours of Ānand Śaṅkar Dhruv and Rāmprāsad Baxi (Gujarātī), Mohitlāl Majumdār and Surendranath Gupta (Bengālī), R.S. Jog and V.N. Watve in Marāṭhī, V. Raghavan (English-Kannaḍ) T.N. Śrīkaṇṭhaiyā (Kannaḍ) and Joseph Mundeshwari (Malayālam) among others.

III

It has to be admitted that with its *lokabhāṣākaraṇa* in the *bhakti* and later in the *rīti* period from (1100-1850), its interaction with new traditions from the other half of the nineteenth century and afterwards, Indian critical tradition grew horizontally, not so much vertically, as the increased width of the river in the rainy season does not necessarily correspond with increase in its depth. Unfortunately, the new education system and its institutions did not have place of true honour for indigenous critical traditions. If Indian knowledge system like philosophy, for instance, that forms the backbone of critical and

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→ from grace. The validity of a *rasa* or a sentiment is to be sought in the experience and does not require any sanction of tradition. If you have it in the experience, accept; if not, do not." *Kavivacansudhā*, No. 22, 5 July 1872.

By stating this, Bhārtendu was performing his duty as a critic who, by questioning whatever is questionable in the tradition, strove to renew and contemporarize it in the light of new situations and experiences.

[18] Please see the Appendix "Select List of Works in Hindi on Indian Poetics."

literary studies had not vanished from the Departments of Philosophy, it was at least subordinated to the Western philosophy. In Departments of literary studies, foreign, particularly English, critical traditions were coronated, and Indian critical traditions with longer history and richer paradigms were subtly expelled from their own land. The example may be seen in the Paper entitled "Literary Criticism" in the English syllabus in most of Indian universities. The Paper is often decked with the Greek and Roman (Plato, Aristotle, Longinus, Horace), the English (from Sir Philip Sidney, to Raymond Williams), the German (Goethe, Schelling, Schiller to Althusser via Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche), the Russian (Victor Shklovsky), the American (American New Critics to Stephen Greenblatt) and the French (Ferdinand de Saussure to Jacques Derrida via Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes) critics. However, in this scheme of literary criticism one is shocked at the absence of Indian literary critics in Indian educational institutions even after more than fifty years of Independence. It is nothing but an instance of self-inflicted and cultural inferiority complex, and unprecedented instance of intellectual suicide in human history. The fact, however, is that Ferdinand de Saussure, who brought about the revolution in the Western perception of language and reality by shifting its study from diachronic to synchronic among others, was primarily a scholar and teacher of Sanskrit.[19] Bharatamuni and Bhartṛhari whose texts acted as catalysis for his insights were relegated to marginal positions in the Indian mainstream education system. English literature, English criticism and teachers of English because of colonization, became central for non-academic reasons. On the other hand, in the Departments of Indian languages like Gujarātī, Hindī and Sanskrit among others, the Western poetics went on to occupy a place of eminence, though the interaction between the Indian poetics and Western poetics did not take place in the absence of a level playing

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19. With his reading of the Indian poeticians Ferdinand de Saussure brought a chain of shifts in the Western perception of language, and all Indians as the descendents and inheritors of Pāṇini and Bhartṛhari can rightly be proud of it. The question here arises is: Why couldn't the Indians who knew these thinkers and their works for long think of these insights? One of the reasons might be that interface between two opposite traditions — the polemical tradition of the West and the Indian reverential metaphysical tradition fructified in such insights as of de Saussure. The question that arises is: why didn't Indian mind, that inherited these traditions, come to such insights? The answer to it is that there is essential difference between the reception of alien influence by the free mind and the colonized mind. The former receives influence as catalysis, and the latter are either persuaded to swallow whatever is selectively given or inundated by influence and swept off their feet.

ground. Ironical it is that when the critics in the West, in America, were either craving for Sanskrit or reviving their classical traditions (of rhetoric particularly as New Criticism), we were dumping our rich critical traditions into the dustbin of insignificance out of our ignorance and cultural and intellectual inferiority complex perpetuated by the processes and forces of colonization.

IV

After the diversion in the preceding section, let me return to the question of continuity and change in Indian critical tradition. Notwithstanding all questions and misunderstanding regarding Indian critical tradition, the facts reveal that poetical and critical works continued to be written in Sanskrit in the post-Jagannāth period and in modern Indian languages as well. True it is that in the post-Paṇḍit Jagannāth period the scholars almost seem to have granted the fact that the core structure (*svarūpa*) of different elements of literary discourse was more or less fixed after their discussion for more than two thousand years. So the need for being entangled in debate over these elements was abandoned. Further, there was pressure from the emergence and currency of *bhāṣā*s. As the tendency towards simplification and description of idiom and contents proliferated, a new trend came to the fore. The new scholars in the post-Jagannāth period seemed to subscribe to Paṇḍit Jagannāth's pronouncement '*nirmay nūtanamudaharanurūpam*,' and they began to mention self-composed examples. Therefore, a new breed of critics came into existence and they began to use the term *kavi* as their surname as in the case of Narasiṁha Kavi, Vidyārām Kavi, and Kṛṣṇa Kavi. This tendency took another turn in Ācārya Vidyānāth who has initiated the tradition of "Yaśobhūṣan" in poetics. The *ācārya*s now began to compose panegyrics partly or fully in the honour of their patrons in the treatises of poetics. Bhaṭṭa Dev wrote *Alaṁkāramanjūṣa*, and *Alaṁkārakaustubha*, while others entitled their works after their patrons like *Nañjarājayaśobhūsaṇa*, *Rāmavarṣobhūṣaṇa*, *Yaśvantyaśobhūṣaṇa*, and *Rāmacandrayaśobhūṣaṇa*. There were a few *saṁnyāsin* scholars and *ācārya*s like Śrī Kṛṣṇa Pārabrahmatantra who sang of their deity.

I should better concentrate just on the *rasa* theory and see the continuity of tradition of interaction, interpretation, discussion and extension of the Indian poetics in the post-Jagannāth period. Citradhar in *Śṛṅgārasāriṇī*, Acyutarāī in *Sāhityasāra*, Chajūrām Śāstrī in *Sāhityabindu*, Haridutta Wagish in *Kāvyakaumudī*, Narasiṁha Kavi in *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*, Śrīkṛṣṇa Kavi on *Maṇḍaramaṇḍacampū*, Venudutta in *Rasakaustubha*, Gaṅgārām Jadi in *Rasamīmāṁsā*, Viśveśvar Pāṇḍe in *Rasacandrikā*, Bhūdev Śukla in *Rasavilāsa*, and Rājacūdāmaṇi Dixit in *Kāvyadarpaṇa* interpreted the given interpretation and thereby continued and extended the tradition. Some of them went to the extent of questioning Bharatamuni, against the general perception that the sacredness of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as the fifth Veda disallowed sceptical reading of the *rasa* theory. The critics like Śrīkṛṣṇa Kavi mentioned only eight *rasa*s, something commonly acceptable to many of his contemporaries, but later on he added the *śānta rasa* to it. The *ācārya*s like Śrīkṛṣṇa Kavi, and Haridāssiddhānta Vagish considered the *vātsalya rasa* as well, something that was attempted by Bhārtendu in Hindī in the nineteenth century. Vidyārām and Actyutrāī included the *bhakti rasa* and Śivarām Tripāṭhī added *śraddhā rasa*. Some of them departed from Bhārata's hierarchy of *rasa* (*Bhāratakarikarama*). Venidutta gave no reason for that; Acyutrāī however did. He considered *rasa* on the lines of *sāttvika*, *rajas* and *tamas* and categorized them accordingly. To him the *śānta*, *śṛṅgāra* and *karuṇā* were *sāttvika*; *hāsya*, *adbhuta* and *bhayānaka* were *rajas*; *vīra*, *vībhatsa* and *raudra* were *tamas* in their nature. The question then arises is that if *śānta*, *śṛṅgāra* and *karuṇā* all three are *sāttvika*, then how do they differ? The solution comes from *Siddhāntabindu* of Śrī Madhusūdan Sarasvatī. Ācārya Sarasvatī divided the *jāgṛt*, *svapna* and *suṣupti* into three each as *jāgṛt-jāgṛt*, *jāgṛt-svapna* and *jāgṛt-suṣupti*, *svapna-jāgṛt*, *svapna-svapna*, *svapna-suṣupti*, *suṣupti-jāgṛt*, *suṣupti-svapna* and *suṣupti-suṣupti*. On these lines, the poetician divided *sāttvika-sāttvika* as the *śānta*, *sāttvika-rajas* as the *śṛṅgāra*, *sāttvika-tamas* as the *karuṇā*, *rajas-sāttvik* as the *hāsya*, *rajas-rajas* as the *adbhuta*, *rajas-tamas* as the *bhayānaka*, *tamas-sāttvika* as the *vīra*, *tamas-rajas* as the *vībhatsa*, *tamas-tamas* as the *raudra* (*Sāhityasāra*, 102).[20] Contributing to the tradition Ācārya Śivarām Tripāṭhī considered the nine *rasa*s from nine different points of view as *snigdha*, *dṛṣṭa*, *dīna*, *kruddha*, *drapta*, *bhayānvita*, *jugupṣita*, *vismita* and *śānta*.[21] The study of the *rasa* theory

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[20] The study of Sanskrit poetical texts written during the post-Jagannāth period reveals facts about the continuity of the tradition, as contrary to the wrong impression created by various scholars. Please see the Appendix.

Also please see Nagendra & Tarkanath Bali (eds.), *Bhāratīya Kāvyasiddhānta*, Delhi: Hindi Madhyam Karyanvyan Nideshalaya, Delhi University, 1969 for understanding the continuity and manifestations of the Indian poetics in different Indian languages by the twentieth century critics.

[21] *snigdha, draṣṭa tathā dīna kruddha drapta bhayānvitā* ।
jugupṣita vismitaśca hanteti rasādraṣṭhayaḥ ॥
— *Rasaratnākara*, 100

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proves continuity of Indian critical tradition despite obstructions that it had to face, deflections and transformations that it underwent in different periods. What needs to be remembered here is that a tradition spanning more than 2500 years cannot remain the same in any case. Like a river it changes its course, width and depth in different seasons and terrains. These changes or transformations are what we have termed earlier as deflections, and not "end," "break" or "amnesia" that in fact took place in the Western classical critical tradition, as the classical texts were unknown for hundreds of years to a larger part of Europe before they were found out and translated in English and other modern European languages from fifteenth century onwards. The Indian critical tradition, despite all interventions from outside, survived, as it was used to interventions from within. It suffered its desecration at different levels and stages — in the form of destruction of its manuscripts and texts,[22] its expulsion from the mainstream education system, absence of not so perspicuous and polemical minds in the later periods, indifference and incompetence of native scholarship, politicalization of everything in English and projection of everything in Sanskrit as inimical to its daughter/sister languages. It, however, survived in individual endeavours and in non-mainstream educational institutions beyond the gaze of the "educated Indians," whom Anand Coomarswamy called the "victims of Indian education." Therefore the majority of modern scholars know (and find it easier to pronounce their names) T.S. Eliot, Victor Shklovsky, Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Levi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Mikhail Bakhtin and Jacques Derrida but not Bharatamuni, Bhāmaha, Kuntaka, Kṣemendra, Ānandavardhana or Abhinavagupta among others.

→ The continuity of Indian poetical tradition is discernible in the discussion of individual *rasas* of the *rasa* theory and of various schools of Sanskrit poetics. For example, in case of the *alaṁkāra* school, the works of Pandit Rewa Prasada Dwivedi [*Alaṁkārsarvasva of Ruyyaka and Maṅkha* (ed. & tr. in Hindī) Varanasi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, 1979 & *Vyaktiviveka of Rājānaka Śrī Mahimabhaṭṭa* (ed. & tr.) Varanasi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, 1982] are living embodiments of the composition of poetical knowledge and its continuity in the twentieth century.

[22] Despite some loss of certain knowledge treatises and manuscripts, as is natural to oral compositions of knowledge systems in Indian tradition, and the destruction of manuscripts, what has survived in Sanskrit is one of richest reservoir of knowledge in the entire world. Peter Scharf states, "The manuscripts in Sanskrit number one hundred times those in Greek and Latin put together." Peter Scharf, "Preface" to *Rāmopākhyāna — The Story of Rāma in the Mahābhārata*, London: Routeledge Curzon, 2003, IX.

Ironically, quite a few of the post-Independence and so-called post-colonial scholars fail to see this continuity. They fail to understand the nature of Indian intellectual and critical traditions, as referred to above, and see deflection as "rupture," "break," "end" and "amnesia," as the easily available alien terms are flaunted and used to measure the Indian situation. Equipped with ethnographical methodology that sees all phenomena in terms of difference and working merely on a couple of Indian languages Gujarātī or Marāṭhī, without acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit poetics and that too with a blinkered vision, it is not impossible to indulge in negative generalization about Indian critical tradition. In addition, even in Sanskrit, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī the facts are not fully researched, though the judgements are pronounced. The fashionable trend to sensationalize the issue is to condemn the main constituent of the knowledge system, and side with another constituent in order to locate and validate one's own positions.

Among the proposers of the thesis of discontinuity one can do nothing but sympathize with Ashcroft *et al.* for their inability to comprehend Indian poetics in Sanskrit or in Indian languages, as they could have had access to Indian poetics only through translation. One is surprised when a nativist like Professor Devy falters and pitches one native language (Sanskrit) against other native counterparts, and sees "amnesia" in the Indian critical tradition with the help of some generalizations on the basis of his limited exposure to Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and even briefer to Sanskrit. It surprises me to note the way a thinking mind like Devy comes to the conclusion about "amnesia" in Indian criticism without considering other constituents of the tradition like Hindī, Bengālī or Tamil among others.

Though the significance of his insightful study of Indian criticism during the colonization, and its impact on Indian creativity is beyond doubt, one cannot resist from stating that in the process of critiquing the colonial enterprise, he not only buys the "amnesia" of the colonizers but also extends and furthers it. The colonizers used the thesis to validate their presence in the colony, so that they could teach the natives how to save, preserve and restore the cultural memory. Undeniably, much was forgotten in terms of historical evidences, and psychologically also the colonization had depleted the morale of the country, but what happened in history does not necessarily correspond with other domains, for instance creativity, criticism and culture, particularly music. The term "amnesia" is forgetfulness — partial or complete, leading to disjunction or disorientation. It is related to, as understood by experimental psychology, violent unconsciousness of memory. If one accepts the psychological dimension of cultural amnesia, one finds that Professor Devy in the process of furthering his thesis uses psychology selectively and abandons it afterwards (51). For example, in Freud whom he quotes extensively, repression should lead to displacement, sublimation and symbolic representation. If repression implies amnesia, as Professor Devy alleged, then when, how and in what forms the sublimation or symbolic manifestation take place?

The implications of amnesia thesis in Indian critical tradition by ignoring hard evidence against it, are more serious than they appear on the surface. Amnesia leads to a pathological condition that is characterized by the loss of faculty of using or understanding spoken or written language. If long continued, it heads for "aphasia," a term from psychiatry that denotes a form of mental disorder in which volition is either impaired or lost. It leads to prostration of an individual, community or entire society, a condition not desired even in animals. If accepted uncritically, the thesis insults the sacrifices of martyrs in the history of struggle for India's Independence, and also the critical works of all great Indian minds before and after Puṇḍit Jagannāth, though the number might be small, including Professor Devy's.

In a way Professor Devy does much service to Indian critical scene by giving it a psychological jolt. Leave aside the Sahitya Akademi Award that the book earned for its author, for awards are often not true measurements of a work, the fact is that Devy's book is one of the three significant contributions to Indian criticism in English in the last decade, or in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the other two being Aijaz Ahmad's *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (1994) and Kapil Kapoor's *Literary Theory: Indian Conceptual Framework* (1998), the last one is discussed earlier in the main body of the paper. Ahmad's book meaningfully analyses and critiques key concepts, propositions and developments like literature (among the signs of our time), literary theory and 'Third World Literature,' Orientalism and Indian literature among others in the second half of the twentieth century from the Marxist perspective without over-riding India.

Let me try to wind up the present endeavour with the discussion of the critical turns or ***deflections,*** that the Indian tradition took in various periods. The first ***deflection*** took place in the *bhakti* period, second in the *rīti* period, the third in the nineteenth century, and the fourth in the twentieth century. The first ***deflection*** saw *lokabhāṣākaraṇa* of Indian poetics and the beginning of the process of branching out of Indian critical tradition into *lokabhāṣā*s along with consideration of new experience, creativity in the form of *bhakti* literature; the second ***deflection*** was marked by its stylistic and prosodic rendition of the tradition or *śiṣṭīkaraṇa* of the tradition in the *lokabhāṣī*, and Pingalaśāstra in many Indian languages (e.g., by Dalpat in Gujarātī) were composed. In its third ***deflection*** in the nineteenth century, the tradition in its manifestation emerged in the form of modern Indian languages that have a continuous tradition of engagement with Indian poetics, as we saw in the case of Hindī among other Indian languages. In its yet another ***deflection***, it assumed the garb of English through translation of its texts into English beginning with the endeavours of the Orientalists (as the translation of Bharatamuni's *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Manmohan Ghosh) and through endeavours aimed at historiography and commentaries (in the works of scholars like P.V. Kane, S.K. De, Ganganath Jha, Bishnupada Bhattacarya, A. Sankaran, Subramania Iyer, V. Raghavan, Krishna Chaitanya, K. Krishanmoorthy, Kunjunni Raja, M. Hiriyanna, V.K. Chari, Krishna Rayan, Adi Rangachari, Tatachariji among others in English). These endeavours were directed at transferring the knowledge of Indian poetical tradition into English for the academicians in the higher education system in India that did not have or did not want to have access to it directly. In the meantime, some scholars examined the Western English literary texts in the light of various theories of Sanskrit poetics, and thereby tried to change the prevailing theory (from the West) and data (texts for application from the non-West) paradigm. This stream has been given a purposeful direction by Kapil Kapoor's *Literary Theory: Indian Conceptual Framework* (1998), for it sees Indian critical tradition in the light of Indian intellectual tradition and also in its present context, covering all cardinal concerns of literary and theoretical discourse in a precise, systematic and methodical manner. In the process, it provides Indian conceptual framework to literary theory based on Indian poetics in the obtaining West — (theory) — intoxicated Indian academic world without being complexed. (It does mention about a dozen Western critics and authors including Aristotle thrice.) The fact worth mentioning here is that while Indian critical tradition branched out in different modern Indian languages, the composition of treatises and commentaries on various schools of poetics continued ceaselessly in Sanskrit, though they remain, unfortunately for us, unnoticed by mainstream scholars of English barring a few distinguished exceptions some of whom have been mentioned above.

In a situation such as this, two points deserve our consideration. The first pertains to the absence of dialogue among various streams of Indian critical traditions existing in Sanskrit, *lokabhāṣās*, modern Indian languages and English. The dialogue among these streams is necessary for the future of Indian critical tradition whose foundation rests on various schools of Sanskrit poetics in particular and others as well including Tamil poetics, and in various schools of contemporary criticism in Indian languages. The need is to study concepts, categories, paradigms and theories propounded in Sanskrit poetics, and also to modify and adapt them, if needed, to suit the demands of modern experience, its articulation in literature and its assessment. The second point is related to the question of revival of Sanskrit poetics. One view holds that the question of revival of Sanskrit poetics does not arise, for it is very much alive. Those who do not know it, should go to it and enrich themselves by knowing it. The other view is: if there is an absence of dialogue among various streams of Indian critical tradition, and if we are not aware of our critical tradition and of its continuity in various forms, we genuflect before the Western theories, the situation demands corrective measures including revival of what is of lasting significance in our critical traditions in the form of theoretical terms, categories and conceptual framework. Revival is not evil, indiscreet revivalism is. Revival and renewal are natural processes. In fact, revival is one of the renewal mechanisms common to all great traditions and civilizations for maintaining continuity. For instance, much of the New Criticism, the most significant school of the Western criticism in the first half of the twentieth century, was not discreet revival of the rhetoric that did not belong to the twentieth century but to the classical Greek and Roman period. Fortunate are we that there is so much available to us that can be revived. Revive we must whatever deserves to be, and modernize it and be modernized in terms of our critical traditions.[23] Renewal and revival, if attempted with

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[23] Our thinkers, being aware of the significance of revival, and also of its dangers if attempted injudiciously, have suggested strategies of revival. For instance, Kālīdāsa states:

purāṇamityev na khalu sādhu sarvam na cāpi kāvya navmityavādham ।
santaḥ parīkṣyanatarabhajante mūḍaḥ paraḥ pratyayney buddhi ॥

— Kālīdāsa, *Mālvikāgnimitra* I,2

(All is not good merely because it is old; nor is a poem to be despised because it is new. Wise accept one or the other after scrutinizing it carefully. Only a fool has his judgement guided by the opinions of others.)

The *bhakti* poet Goswāmī Tulasīdās wrote in *The Rāmcaritmānas*:

saṁgraha tyāgu na binu pahcāne.

→

discretion, are virtues. We must take a cue from the history of criticism and remember: No civilization as yet ever became great by imitation, but no civilization would ever become great by giving up its own traditions and by embracing others.

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→ (Neither acceptance nor rejection should be attempted without recognizing the object.)

In the twentieth century Sūryakānta Tripāṭhī 'Nirālā,' the Hindī poet, guides us about the strategies of revival:

bhram mein jo liyā gyān mein lo tum gin gin
bhram mein jo diyā, gyān mein do tum gin gin.

Accept whatever you have to only in a state of knowledge. Forsake whatever you have to only in a state of knowledge.

Appendix I

Select List of Compositions in Sanskrit in The Post-Jagannātha Period

NAME OF THE AUTHOR	*FATHER'S/TEACHER'S NAME*	*PLACE OF BIRTH/WORK*	*PERIOD WITH YEAR*	*WORKS (INCLUDING CREATIVE)*
(A) 1. Rājacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣit (Alaṁkāra)	Satyamangal Ratnakhet Shri Nivasadhavan (Father)	Tondira-Sursamudra	Later half of 16th c. or First half of 17th c. (1636)	1. *Yajuḥśākhāvyākhyā*; 2. *Daśopaniṣad Vyākhyā*; 3. *Śāstradīpikī Vyākhyā Karpūrvārtikā*; 4. *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī Vyākhyā Tantracintamaṇihī*; 5. *Saṁkarśa Muktāvalī*; 6. *Rucidattavṛttirnyāyacūḍāmaṇi*; 7. *Cintāmaṇidarpaṇam* 8. *Śṛṅgāra Sarvasvanam Bhāna Bhojacampupurakoyyuddhakandaḥ*; 9. *Bhāratacampū*; 10. *Vṛttitārāvalī*; 11. *Ratnakhetvijayam*; 12. *Mañjubhāṣinī*; 13. *Rāmakṛṣṇadharmabhuvam Kathātrayī*; 14. *Śaṅkarācārya Tārāvalī*; 15. *Śaṅkarābhyudayam*; 16. *Kaṅsavadham*; 17. *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam*; 18. *Kamalinīkalhaṇasanaṭīkā*; 19. *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi*; 20. *Citramañjarī*; 21. *Kāvyadarpanam*; 22. *Raghunāthbhūpavijaya*; 23. *Kāntimatipariṇayam*; 24. *Sāhityasāmrājyam* 25. *Advaitacintāmaṇi* (inclusive of creative works)
2. Bhūdev Śukla (Alaṁkāra)	Shukdev/Sukdev (Father) Śrīkanth Dīkṣit (Teacher) Ram Rama (Teacher)	Jambusar (Gujarat)	Later half of 17th c.	1. *Rasavilāsa*; 2. *Rukmiṇīvilāsa*; 3. *Rāmacarita*; 4. *Dharmavijaya*; 5. *Ātmatattva Pradīpa*; 6. *Īśvarvitasdīpikā*; 7. *taraṅginī*
3.Rāmdeva Ciraṅjīva Bhaṭṭācārya (Alaṁkāra School)	Rāghvendra Śatavdhan (Father) Raghudev Nyāyālaṁkāra (Teacher)	Gauḍ Region	Around AD 1731	1. *Kāvyavilāsa*; 2. *Mādhavacampu*; 3. *Śṛṅgāratatinī*; 4. *Vṛtratnāvalī*; 5. *Kalpalatā*; 6. *Śivastotra*; 7. *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī*

4. Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa Paṇḍita (Alaṁkāra School)	Laxmidhara (Teacher & Father) Yaśodhara (Teacher)	Patia, Almora (Uttar Pradesh)	First half of eighteenth century or 1675-1715 (Jagannāth Jośī)	1. *Alaṁkārakaustubha;* 2. *Kāvyāratnam;* 3. *Ātmakaramuktāvalī;* 4. *Ātmakarapradīpa;* 5. *Rasacandrikā;* 6. *Kavindrakarṇābharaṇam* (with commentary); *Samanjasa Rasamañjarī* (commentary); 8. *Lakṣmivilāsakāvyam;* 9. *Romāvalīśatakam;* 10. *Vakṣojasaśatakam;* 11. *Holikāśatakam;* 12. *Rītivarṇanam;* 13. *Navamālikā;* (play) 14. *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* (commentary); 15. *Siddhāntasudhānidhi Darśana;* 16. *Tattvacintāmaṇi-Didhītipraveśa;* 17. *Tarkakutūhalam;* 18. *Āryasaptaśatī;* 19. *Kāvyatilakam* (comm.); 20. *Naiṣadha-kāvya Ṭīkā;* 21. *Mandaramañjara Gadyakāvya* (comm.); 22. *Āryaśa-takam;* 23. *Mandaramañjarī Kathā;* 24. *Abhirāmarāghava;*25. *Bhāvapradīpa.*
5. Narasiṁha Kavi 'Abhinava Kālidāsa' (Nāṭyaśāstra)	Śivarāma (Father & Teacher) Yogānanda (Teacher)	Mysore (Alur) (Charmrey-Mahisur)	Later half of of eighteenth century	1. *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣana* 2. *Candrakalākalyāṇa*
6.Vidyārāma (Alaṁkāra Nāṭyaśāstra)	Veṇīrāma Vajrapati	Pasuñja (Ahmedabad)/ Udayapur, Koṭa	Around-1706	1. *Rasadīrghikā* (1906)
7. Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa II (Alaṁkāra)	Rāmjī Bhaṭṭa (Teacher & Father) Dharaṇīdhara (Teacher)	Pija Vaso - Patapatan, Badodara (South Gujarat)	Mid seventeenth century (1674-1754) Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa first half of eighteenth century	1. *Alaṁkāradīpikā;* 2. *Kovidānanda* (comm.); 3. *Triveṇikā;* 4. *Prabhāpaṭala;* 5. *Advaita Viveka;* 6. *Āśādharī* (Nyāya); 7. *Rasikānanda* (Alaṁkāraśāstra 8. *Vṛtti of* Mallinātha's Commentary on *Kirātārjunīya;* 9. *Kuvalayānandakārikāṭīkā;* 10. *Vyākaraṇkārikā;* 11. *Punarāvṛttivivecana*
8. Bhaṭṭa Deva 'Purohita' (Alaṁkāra)	Nahanabhai (Teacher) Bala Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī (Teacher)	Raner (Rander-Surat) Wrah Pattan (Olpad)	Around 1765-66	1. *Alaṁkārmanjūṣā;* 2. *Viśvasrai Yuddhavarṇana;* 3. *Amaruśatak Vyākhyā*

9. Venīdutta Śarmā (Alaṁkāra/Rasa)	Jagannath Sharma	Tirbhukti (Tirhuti)	Later half of eighteenth century	1. *Rasakaustubha* (Rasa); 2. *Alaṅkāramañjarī*; 3. *Virudāvalī*
10. Acyuta Rai Śarmā 'Modaka' (Kavyaśāstra)	Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī 'Shasti' (Teacher) Nārāyaṇa (Father)	Pañcavaṭī Nasik	Nineteenth century	1. *Sahityasāra* (1831); 2. *Sarsamod* century (Comm.); 3. *Bhagīrathacampū*; 4. *Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta*; 5. *Nirañjanamañjarī*; 6. *Advaitāmṛta Mañjarī*; 7. *Nītiśotpatra* 8. *Praṇaya Prakāśa* (Comm.); 9. *Pañcadaśī* (Comm.); 10. *Advaitarājyalakṣmī*; 11. *Advaitavidyāvinoda*; 12. *Avaidikamatatiraskāra*; 13. *Iśadeśakavivivecanamañjarī*; 14. *Gītaśatsati*; 15. *Gauḍalaharī*; 16. *Jīvanamuktivivekavyākhyā*; 17. *Mahāvākyārthamañjarī*; 18. *Rāmagītacandrikā*; 19. *Viṣṇupadalakṣaṇam*; 20. *Kaṇṭhastavaḥ*; 21. *Saudhayagyakalpadruma.*
11. Śrīkṛṣṇa Kavi (Kṛṣṇa Śarmā or Kṛṣṇāvadhūta)	Vasudevayogeśvara (Teacher)	Guhapur	Later half of nineteenth century (1835-1909)	1. *Mandaramarandacampū*; 2. *Kāvyālakṣaṇa*; 3. *Rasaprakāśa-Kāvyaprakāśa* (Comm.); 4. *Sārasvatālaṁkāra Sūtra* &*Kāvyaprakāśa* (Comm.); *Bhāṣya*
12. Śrīkṛṣṇa Brahmatantra Parakala (Kṛṣṇamācārya Vakīl) (Alaṁkāra)	Tatacārya (Father)	Mahishur (Parakal Vaishnavnath Amidela)	1839-1916	1. *Alaṅkāramaṇihāra*; 2. *Alaṅkārikā*; 3. *Tattvanirṇayavidhi* (1890); 4. *Raṅgarājavilāsacampū*; 5. *Kārttikotsavadīpikācampū*; 6. *Śrīnivāsavilāsacampū*; 7. *Uttarāṅga-māhātmya*; 8. *Rāmeśvarābhijaya*; 9. *Nṛsiṅhavilāsa*;10. *Madanagopālamāhātmya*; 11. *Piyūṣalaharī*; 12. *Hansa-sandeśa* and other compositions.
(B) 1. Sundaramiśra Añjagiri			Later half of fifteenth century and first half of sixteenth century	1. *Nāṭyapradīpa* (AD 1613) 2. *Abhiramamaṇi Nāṭaka* (1599)

2. Viśvanātha Deva (Śarmā)	Trimaldeva (Father)	Dharasur (S. India), later came to Varanasi later on	1552-	2. *Citra Mīmāṁsā;* 3. *Mṛgāṅkalekha*
3. Narahari (Rasa Theory/ Alaṁkara)	Jagadamūrti Nādamūrti (Teacher)	Vijapur	1580-1627	*Navarasamañjarī*
4. Aruṇa Giri Kavi (Alaṁkara/ Kāvyaśāstra)	Śeṣādri (Father) Venkādri (Teacher)	Koladeśa, Uttar Bimbali (Vatakkunkur)	Later half of sixteenth century or first half of seventeenth century	*Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa*
5. Sudhindrayogin (Yati)	Vijayendra Yati (Teacher)	Tanjor	First half of seventeenth century	1. *Alaṁkāranikaśa* 2. *Alaṁkāramañjarī* (Comm.) 3. *Subhadrāpariṇaya* (Nāṭak)
6. Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita or Kṛṣṇa Yajvan		Tanjor	Seventeenth century	1. *Raghunātha Bhūpālaniya* 2. *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī*
7. Yogyanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita	Govinda Dīkṣita (Father)	Tanjor	Seventeenth century	1. *Alaṁkāra Ratnākara* 2. *Sāhityaratnākara* 3. *Raghunātha-Bhūpavijaya* 4. *Raghunāthavilāsa Nāṭaka*
8. Viśvanātha Pañcānana (Nyāya Siddhānta)	Kāśīnātha Vidyā-Nivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya (Father) Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (Teacher)	Navadīp (Bengal)		1. *Alaṁkārapariskāra* 2. *Bhāṣāpariccheda* (1634) 3. *Piṅgala Prakāśikā* 4. *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* 5. *Padārtha-Tattvāloka* 6. *Nyāsatantrabodhinī* 7. *Subartattavāloka*

9. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa (Alaṁkāra)	Goverdhana Bhaṭṭa (Father)		1625-1700	*Alaṁkārasāra* (1702)
10. Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa (Kāvyaśāstra)			Seventeenth century	*Praśnamālā*
11. Kavicandra (Alaṁkāra)	Kavi Karnapur (Father)	Dirgakgram	sixteenth or seventeenth century	1. *Kāvyacandrikā*; 2. *Cikitsāratnāvalī*; 3. *Sāralaharī*; 4. *Dhātucandrikā*
12. Mauni Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa	Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa (Father)			*Vṛttidīpikā*
13. Akabarshah 'Bade Saheb' (Nāyaka-Nāyikā)	Shahraj (Father)		1646-1672/75	*Śṛṅgāramañjarī* (Tr. *Akbarasāhiśṛṅgārmañjarī*)
14. Śonthimar Bhaṭṭaraka (Alaṁkāra)			Seventeenth century	*Rasasudhānidhi*
15. Mathurāprasāda Dīkṣita (Kāvyaśāstra)	Badarīnātha	Bhagawant-Distt. Hardoi, (UP)	1878?	*Kavitārahasyam*
16. Lakṣmīdhara Dixit (Laxman Sūri) Dakṣiṇāmūrti Kiṅkar (Kāvyaśāstra)	Yogeśwara (Fa.) Koṇḍubhaṭṭa (Tea.)	Cherikuri (Krishna river Andhra Pradesh)	Mid-seventeenth century	1. *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī*; 2. *Rasamañjarī*; 3. *Bharataśāstragrantha*; 4. *Śaḍbhāṣācandrikā* (Prākṛt Vyākaraṇa); 5. *Anaṅgharāghavaṭīkā*; 6. *Prasannarāghava Ṭīkā*; 7. *Gītatgovinda* — (Comm.)
17. Raghunātha		Tanjor	1675-1792	1. *Sāhitya Kutūhala* (Chitrakāvya)
18. Samrāja Dikṣita (Śyāmarāja)	Narahari Bindu Purandar (Father)	Mathurā	Later half of seventeenth century	1. *Śṛṅgārāmṛtalaharī*; 2. *Śrīdāmācarita* (Nāṭaka 1681); 3. *Ratikallolinī* (1719); 4. *Akṣaragumphā*; 5. *Āryatriśatī*; 6. *Dhūrtanartaka Prahasana*

19. Gokulnath Maithila (Alaṁkāra)	Pitambar 'Vidyānidhi' (Father)	Mangarauni (Madhuvani) Baharas	After 1650	1. *Raśmicakrama*; 2. *Ālokavivaraṇam*; 3. *Nyāya-siddhāntatattva*; 4. *Devakālanirūpaṇam*; 5. *Lāghava-gauravarahasyam*; 6. *Kusumāñjalivivaraṇam*; 7. *Pada-vākyaratnākara*; 8. *Khaṇḍankuṭhara*; 9. *Kundakādambarī*; 10. *Kādambarīpradīpa*; 11. *Kādambarīkīrtiślokaḥ*; 12. *Kādambarī-praśnottaramālā*; 13. *Kāvyaprakāśavivaraṇam*; 14. *Rasa-mahārṇava*; 15. *Śivastuti*; 16. *Vṛttataraṅgiṇī*; 17. *Śuddha-vivekaḥ*; 18. *Masamīmāṁsā* (1709); 19. *Sūktimuktāvalī*; 20. *Madālasā Nāṭakam*; 21. *Amṛtodayanāṭakam*; 22. *Viśiṣṭa-vaiśiṣyabodhaḥ*
20. Caturbhuja (Kāvyaśāstra)				*Raskalpadruma* (1689)
21. Veṅkeṭa Kṛṣṇa		Tanjor	Seventeenth century	*Śabdabhedanirūpaṇam*
22. Narasinh (Alaṁkāra)		Tanjor	1684-1710	1. *Guṇaratnākara*; 2. *Śivanārāyaṇabhañjamahodaya*
23. Nārāyaṇa		Tanjor	Later half of seventeenth century	*Śabdabhedanirūpaṇa*
24. Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita		Tanjor	Later half of seventeenth century	*Śabdaśaktinirūpaṇa*
25. Vīreśwar Paṇḍita Bhaṭṭācārya 'Śrivara'	Lakṣmana		Seventeenth century	*Rasaratnāvalī*
26. Indrajīta (Alaṁkāra)				1. *Rāmacandracandrikā* (1712); 2. *Rasikpriya* (Hindī)
27. Sukhadeva			Seventeenth century	*Śṛṅgāralatā*
28. Bhāva Miśra (Alaṁkāra)	Miśra Bhaṭaka		Seventeen century	*Śṛṅgārasārasī*

29. Śrīkara Miśra			Later half of eighteenth century	*Alaṁkāratilaka*
30. Bhāskara Miśra			Later half of Eighteenth century	*Sāhityadīpikā*
31. Subuddhi Miśra			Later half of seventeenth century	1. *Tattva Parīkṣā;* 2. *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti* Vyākhyā)
32. Kāmarāja Dīkṣita	Sawarāja Dīkṣita (Father)	Vārāṇasī	Later half of seventeenth century	1. *Kāvyenduprakāśa* (Nāṭyśāstra); 2. *Rasanirṇaya* (Alaṁkāra)
33. Rāmānandapati 'Vividhardhya Tripāṭhī (Camatkāra) Parangam'	Madhukara Tripāṭhī (Father)	Vārāṇasī	Later half of the seventeenth century	1. *Caturbhūjāṣṭaka Stotra* (1666); 2. *Vedārthamantrasaṁgraha;* 3. *Tattvadīpikā;* 4. *Tarkagumphana;* 5. *Liṅgānuśāsanam;* 6. *Śyāmastavarājaḥ;* 7. *Kālarātrividhāṇam;* 8. *Guhyasodhavivaraṇam;* 9. *Rasikajīvanam;* 10. *Padyapiyūṣam;* 11. *Rāmacaritram;* 12. *Dhanyāṣṭakam;* 13. *Śaśāṅkāśatakam;* 14. *Hāsyasāgaraḥ;* 15. *Kāśīkutūhalam;* 16. *Kīrātabhāva-dīpikāḥ;* 17. *Kāvyaprakāśaprakṛtārtha;*
34. Kṛṣṇa Sūri	Gopālācāryaa	Tanuku (Dist.)		1. *Alaṁkāramīmāṁsā;* 2. *Sāhityakalpalatīkā*
35. Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa	Gauripati (Girīśa)	Mithilā	Between fifteenth & seventeenth century	*Rasika Jīvana* (1670)
36. Kāśī or Kāśīkarkavi Lakṣmaṇa kavi		Tanjor	End of seventeenth or beginning of eighteenth century	*Alaṁkāragrantha*

37. Sudhākara Mahāśabde			1699-1743	*Sāhityasārasaṁgraha*
38. Rāmacandra Vāgīśa	Vidyānidhi	Beṅgālī	Eighteenth century	*Kāvyacandrika*
39. Venidatta Śarman Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya 'Śrivar'	Viśveśvara 'Śrīvara'		1583 (Kane) eighteenth century (Davasthalī)	1. *Alaṁkāracandrodaya;* 2. *Rasikarañjanī* (Comm.)
40. Bhīmasena Dīkṣita	Śivānanda			1. *Alaṁkārasāroddhāra;* 2. *Ratnāvalī Ṭīkā;* 3. *Sudhāsāgara;* 4. *Alaṁkārasthiti;* 5. *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Comm. (1723))
41. Hari Prashad Māthur	Mathur Mishra Gangesh or Gangeshwar			1. *Kāvyārthagumphā* (1775 vs); 2. *Kaāvyāloka* (1728)
42. Jagannātha Miśra			Later half of eighteenth century	*Rasakalpadruma*
43. Śambhunātha				*Alaṁkāralakṣaṇāni* (1740)
44. Citradhara	Mahamahopadhyaya Vaṁśadhara	Mithilā Mangoroni (Darbhaṅgā)	Later half of eighteenth century	1. *Śṛṅgārasāriṇī;* 2. *Vīrataraṅgiṇī*
45. Gaṅgārāma Jadi	Nārāyaṇa Jadi (Father), Śrīnīlakaṇṭha (Teacher)	Vārāṇasī	1775-1850	1. *Maṇimālā* (unavailable); 2. *Naukā-Rasataraṅgiṇīṭīkā;* 3. *Rasamīmāṁsā* (vs 1808); 4. *Tātparyaṭīkā* (vs 1830); 5. *Gaurīkasūtrāṇī*
46. Sadāśiva Makhin (Dīkṣita)	Chokkanātha	Kerala	1724-1798	1. *Bālarāmāyaṇava-Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam;* 2. *Vasulakṣmī* (Nāṭaka)
47. Kalyāṇa Subrahmaṇya Suri (Kotyayana)	Subrahmanya	Pirungal-Ponnali-South Malabar	1724-1798 around	*Alaṁkārakaustubha* (with comm.)
48. Yaśasvī Kavi	Gopāla			1. *Sāhitya Kautūhala* (1730); 2. *Ujjvalpada* (Comm.)
49. Sukhalā	Bābūrām/Bābūrāī Miśra (father) Gāṅgeśa Miśra, Hari Prasād Māthur (Teacher)			*Śṛṅgāramālā* (1801)

Appendix II

Select List of Compositions in Sanskrit in the Post-Jagannātha Period

Title of the Work	*Author/Editor*	*Publisher*
1. *Nañjarāja Yaśobhūṣaṇa*	Narsiṁha Kavi Abhinavkālidāsa Ed. E. Kṛṣṇāmācārya	Orient Institute Baroda, 1930.
2. *Rāmavarmayaśbhūṣaṇa*	Sadāśiva	Trāvancore Archeological Series, Vol. 18
3. *Kāvyakalāidhi*	Kṛṣṇasudhi	Shri Ramvilas Press, Madras, 1893
4. *Apparāya Yaśaścandrodaya*	Aaanivilla Vekatashastri	Shri Bhairav Press Madras, 1915
5. *Sāhityakalpadruma*	Nārāyaṇa	
6. *Kāvyakaustubha* *Sāhitya Kaumudī*	Baldeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa	Kāvyamālā Bombay 63, Commentary 1897
7. *Kāvyakaustubha*	Baldeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Trans. Haridās	Navdeep Bengal, 1957
8. *Kāvyenduprakāśa*	Kāmrāj Trans. Babulal Shukla	Chowkhambha Series 1966.
9. *Sāhityasāra*	Acyutācārya Modak Trans. Vasudev Lakṣmaṇa Pansikar	Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay
10. *Alaṁkārakaustubha*	Viśeśwara Paṇḍita	Kavyamala 166, 1898.
11. *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī*	Viśeśwara Paṇḍita	Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series 1927
12. *Alaṁkāra Pradīpa*	Viśeśwara Paṇḍita	Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series
13. *Alaṁkāra Mañjūṣā*	Deva Śaṅkara Ed. S.L. Kotie	Scindia Oriental Series 1, Ujjain 1940.
14. *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī*	Kṛṣṇācārya	Satyadhyana Vidyapitha, Belgaum.
15. *Alkaṁkāra Muktāvalī*	Haṁsasudhi	Arsa Press, Vizagapattnam 1897.
16. *Kṛṣṇabhūpalīya*	—————	Govt. Press, Mysore 1931.
17. *Alaṁkāramaṇihāra*	Śrī Kṛṣṇa Parkalyati	Oriental Research Institute, Mysore (Govt. Library Series Mysore)

18. *Kāvyavilāsa*	Rāmdev; Ed. Baṭuknāth Śarmā and Jagannāth Śāstrī	Saraswati Bhavan Banaras No. 16, 1925. Govt. Sanskrit Library Banaras)
19. *Śṛṅgārmañjarī*	Akbar Shah 'Bade Sahab' Ed. V. Raghavan	Archaeology Department, Hyderabad State, 1951
20. *Rasacandrikā*	Madhusūdan Kavīndra Ed. S.N.G. Shastri	Vishva Bharati, 1969
21. *Rasacandrikā*	Viśeśwara Paṇḍita	Chaukhamba, Benaras, 1962
22. *Rasaratnākara*	Śivarāma Tripāṭhī	Kavyamala, 6, Bombay
23. *Rasavilāsa*	Ed. Premlatā Śarmā	Poona Oriental Book House, Poona, 1952
24. *Rasamahārṇava*	Gokulanātha Maithila; Tr. Dharmanātha Jha and Kumudanātha Miśra	Kavyamala, Bombay
25. *Śṛṅgārāmṛtalaharī*	Kāmrāja Dīkṣita Bombay	Kavyamala Guchchhaka-14
26. *Rasamīmāṁsā*	Gaṅgārām Jadiv	Kashi Sanskrit Series Benaras, 1885 Lalbahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi
27. *Kovidānanda*	Āśādhara Awasthi's *Vṛt Samuccaya's*	Pub. in Dr. Brahmamitra second Gucchaka.
28. *Triveṇika* [Summarised *Kovidānanda*]	Āśādhara Sahitya Vidyalaya Varanasi	Saraswati Bhavan Series, form of Benaras 1925; Bharatiya
29. *Kavinda Karṇābharaṇa*	Viśeśwara Paṇḍita	Kavyamala Part VIII, 1891
30. *Kāvyacandrikā*	Nyāyāvāgīśa	Venkateshwar Press Bombay, 1912
31. *Kāvyadarpaṇa* (Vol. I, II)	Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dixit Tr. Shri T.K. Balasubramaniam	Vani Vilas Publishing House, Shirangam
32. *Kāvyavilāsa*	Ciranjīva Bhaṭṭācārya Tr. Paṇḍita Baṭuknātha Śarmā and Jagannātha Śāstrī	Govt. Sanskrit Library, Saraswati Bhavan, Benaras
33. *Rasadīpikā*	Vidyārāma Tr. Pt. Gopālanārāyaṇa Behurā (Rajasthan)	Rajasthan, Puratattwan-veshan Mandir, Jodhpur
34. *Rasakaustubha*	Venidatta Śarman Tr. Śrī Lekhnātha Śarmā	———

35. *Alaṁkāra Mañjarī*	Venidatta Śarmā Tr. Badrīnātha Jha	Mithila Sanskrit Vidyapeeth.
36. *Sāhityasudhāsindhu*	Viśwanātha Deva Tr. Pt. Rāmapratāpa	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Delhi, 1968
37. *Navarasamañjarī*	Narahari; Tr. P.G. Lalye	Hyderabad
38. *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa*	Aruṇagiri Kavi	The University Manuscripts Library, Trivendram
39. *Vṛttidīpikā*	Maunikṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Tr. Puruṣottama Śarmā Caturvedī	Rajasthan Puratattwaanveshan Mandir
40. *Rasika Jīvanam*	Rāmānanda Tripāṭhī Tr. Prof. Karuṇāpati Tripāṭhī	Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi, 1978
41. *Rasika Jīvanam*	Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa Tr. Dr. Jatindra Vimala Choudhary	Sanskrit Kosh Kavya Sangrah Series-4
42. *Rasa Kalpadruma*	Jagannātha Miśra	Orissa Sahitya Akademi
43. *Śṛṅgārasāraṇī*	Citradhara	Triloknath Jha, Darbhanga 1965
44. *Kavikaustubha*	Raghunātha Manohar Tr. Fateh Singh	Rajasthan Prachyavidya Pratishthana, Jodhpur, 1968
45. *Kāvya Kaumudī*	Haridasa Siddhānta Vāgīśa Tr. Bhaveścandra Bhaṭṭācārya	Calcutta
46. *Sahitya Bindu*	Chajjurāma Śāstrī	Meherchanda Lachmandas, Delhi 1969.
47. *Sāhitya Vimarśa*	Kautsa Uppala Someśwara Śarmā	Shri Venkateshwar Oriental Institute, 1951
48. *Jaipur kī Sanskrit Sāhitya kī Den* (Bibliography)	Prabhāśaṅkara Śāstrī (in Hindī)	———
49. *Ādhunik Sanskrit Sāhitya*	Hirālāla Śukla	———
50. *Alaṁkārarasamañjarī*	Kriste Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī	Chaukhamba, Varanasi
51. *Alaṁkārarasamañjarī*	Gopāla Śāstrī (with Hindī Tr.)	Chaukhamba, Varanasi
52. *Kāvyālaṁkāra Koṭikā*	Revāprasāda Dwivedī	Choukhamba Surbharati, Varanasi, 1977

53. *Sāhityaratnākara*	Dharmayuti	Sanskrit Parishad, Hyderabad
54. *Abhinava Rasamīmāṁsā*	Bramānanda Śarmā	Archana Prakashan, Ajmer 1975
55. *Śṛṅgāraṇavacandrikā* (*Alaṁkāracandrikā*)	Vijayvarṇī Tr. Vāman Mahodaya Kulkarṇī	Bharatiya Gyanpeeth, Varanasi 1969
56. *Rasa Ratnapradīpikā*	Allarāj; Ed. R.N. Dandekar	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1945
57. *Alaṁkāra Saṁgraha*	Amṛtānanda Yogī Ed. P. Bālakṛṣṇa Mūrti	Venkateshwara Oriental Series, Tirupati
58. *Akbarśāhī Śṛṅgārdarpaṇa*	Sundar Jain	Anoop Sanskrit Library, Bikaner
59. *Alaṁkāraśekhara*	Keśava Miśra	Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sahitya Series, Benaras
60. *Sāhitya Sāra*	Sarveśācārya	University of Travankor, 1948 (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series)
61. *Alaṁkāraratnākara*	Śobhākara Miśra Ed. C.R. Devadhara	Oriental Book Agency, Poona
62. *Alaṁkārayuktāvalī*	Viśeśwar Paṇḍit Tr. Viṣṇuprasāda Bhaṇḍārī	Chawkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot
63. *Rasa Candrikā*	Viṣṇuprasād Bhaṇḍārī	Benaras

Appendix III

List of the Texts on Indian Poetics in the Post-Jagannātha Period

(A) PUBLISHED WORKS

1. Bhaṭṭa Devśankara Purohit, *Alaṁkāra Mañjūṣā*
2. Narsiṁhakavi (Abhinava Kālīdāsa), *Nāgārjunayśobhūṣaṇam*
3. Acyut Rāī Śarman "Modak," *Sāhityasāra*
4. Bhūdeva Śukla, *Rasavilāsa*
5. Rājacūḍmaṇi Dikṣita, *Kāvyadarpaṇa*
6. Rāmdeva Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya, *Kāvyavilāsa*
7. Viśeśwar Paṇḍit "Bhaṭṭ", *Alaṁkārakaustubha*
   ———, *Alaṁkāra Muktāvalī*
   ———, *Rasacandrikā*
8. Vidyārāma, *Rasadīrghaka*
9. Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa, *Kovidānanda*
   ———, *Triveṇikā*
   ———, *Alaṁkāra Dīpikā*
10. Veṇidutta Śarman, *Rasakaustubha*
    ———, *Alaṁkāramañjarī*
11. Śrīkṛṣṇa Kavi, *Maṇḍaramendcampū*
12. Kṛṣṇa Śarman, *Rasaprakāśa*
13. Śivarāma Tripāṭhī, *Rasaramaṇī*
14. Gaṅgādhara Paṇḍit, *Rasamīmāṁsā*
15. Viśwanāth Deva, *Sāhityasudhāsindhu*
16. Akbarshah, *Śṛṅgāra Mañjarī*
17. Sanrama Dikṣita, *Śṛṅgārāmṛta Laharī*
18. Rāmānanda Yati Tripāṭhī, *Rasikajīvana*
19. Kāmrāja Dīkṣita, *Kāvyendu Prakāśa*
20. Jagannātha Miśra, *Rasakalpadruma*
21. Citradhara, *Śṛṅgāra Sāriṇī*
22. Gaṅgārāma Jadi, *Rasamīmāṁsā*
23. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Sāhitya Kaumudī*
    ———, *Kāvyakaustubha*
24. Veṅkaṭācārya Dixit, *Alaṁkāra Kaustubha*
25. Raghunātha Manohara, *Kavi Kaustubha*
26. Kṛṣṇa "Sudhi," *Kāvyakalānidhi*
27. Haridasa Siddhānta Vāgīśa, *Kāvyakaumudī*

28. Sītārāma Śāstrī, *Sāhityopadeśa*
29. Chajjurāma Śāstrī Vidyāsāgar, *Sāhitya Bindu*
30. Kautsa Apala Someśwara Śarmā, *Sāhitya Vimarśa*
31. Caturbhuja, *Rasakalpadruma*
32. Amṛtānanda Yogī, *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha*

(B) UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

1. Rājacūḍamaṇi Dixit, *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*
   ———, *Kāvyadarpaṇa*
2. Bhāskarācārya, *Sāhitya Kallolinī*
3. Veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa, *Śṛṅgārasārāvalī*
4. Sudhīndra Yoginī "Yati," *Alaṅkāranikāśa*
5. Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita (Kṛṣṇa Kavi), *Raghunātha Bhūpālīya*
6. Bālakṛṣna Bhaṭṭa, *Alaṁkārasāra*
7. Kavicandra, *Kāvyacandrikā*
8. Lakṣmīdhara Dikṣita, *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī*
   ———, *Rasamañjarī*
9. Ghāsīrāma Paṇḍita, *Rasakaumudī*
10. Anantarāya (Anantācārya), *Kavisamayakallola*
11. Kollorī Rājaśekhara, *Alaṁkāramakaranda*
12. Kānticandra Mukhopādhyāya, *Kāvyadīpikā*
13. Rāmasubramaṇyam Śāstrī, *Alaṁkāraśāstravilāsa*
14. Kalyāṇa Subramaṇya Sūrī, *Alaṁkārakaustubha*
15. Narasinṁha, *Alaṁkārsāra*
16. Ananta, *Sāhityavicāra*
17. Tirumel Veṅkaṭācārya, *Rasamañjarī*

(C) PUBLISHED TEXTS

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kavi, *Maṇḍarmandacampū*, 2nd, edn., Mumbai: Nirnayasagar Press, 1924.

Śrī Kāmrāj Dīkṣita, *Kāvya Suprakāśa* (seventeenth century), ed. Shri Bābūlāl Śukla, Varanasi: Chaukhamba, 1966.

Śrī Rūpagoswāmin, *Nāṭakacandrikā*, ed. with Hindi tr. and comm. Bābūlāl Śukla, Varanasi: Chaukhamha Prakashana, 1964.

Viśveśvar Panday, *Rasacandrikā*, ed. Paṇḍit Viṣṇuprasād Bhanḍārī, Varanasi: Chaukhamba Series, Vidyavilas Press, 1983.

Kavivar Venidatta, *Alaṁkāramañjarī*, ed. Kavīśvar Badrīnāth Jha, Darbhanga: Mahila Institute of P.G. Studies and Research in Sanskrit.

Śrī Viśveśwar Pandey, *Alaṁkārmuktāvalī*, ed. Viṣṇuprasād Bhaṇḍārī, Kashi: Chaukhambha Granthnala, Vidya Vilas Press, 1984.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, *Vṛttidīpikā*, Jaipur: Rajasthan Puratananveshan Mandir, 1956., Ist edn.

(D) LIST OF SELECT WORKS ON ALAṀKĀRA SCHOOL OF INDIAN POETICS COMPOSED IN THE POST-JAGANNĀTH PERIOD

(i) Sadāśiva Mukhin, *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa*
(ii) Unknown author, *Alaṁkāramañjarī*
(iii) Nārāyaṇa, *Sāhitya Kalpasumana*
(iv) Kṛṣṇādhi, *Kāvya Kalānidhi*
(v) Cavali Ramsudhi, *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*
(vi) Bhāskarācārya, *Sāhitya Kdllohirī*
(vii) Narasiṁhakavi, *Nañjuajyobhūṣṇam*
(viii) Rajśekhara, *Sāhityakaumudī*
(ix) Nṛsiṁhācārya, *Alaṁkārenduśekhare*
(x) Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, *Alaṁkārasāra*
(xi) Baldeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Sāhityakaumudī*
(xii) Hariprasāda, *Kāvyāloka*
(xiii) Venkamatya, *Alaṁkārmaṇidarpaṇa*
(xiv) Kāmrāja Dīkṣit, *Kāvyenduprakāśa*
(xv) Śrīnivāsācārya, *Śabdālaṁkārasaṁgraha*
(xvi) Devsukar Purohita, *Alaṁkāramanjūṣā*
(xvii) Varadarāya, *Utprekṣāmañjarī*
(xviii) Narasiṁha, *Guṇaratnākara*
(xix) Indrajit, *Rasikapriya*
(xx) Kṛṣṇa Dikṣita, *Raghunāthabhūpālīya*
(xxi) Gaṅgārām Jodi, *Rasataraṅgiṇī*
(xxii) Gokulanātha Maithil, *Rūpamahārṇava*
(xxiii) Candrakānt Trakālaṁkāra, *Alaṅkārasūtramaṇi*.

(E) SELECT LIST OF INDIAN CRITICS WITH WORKS ON OR RELATED TO INDIAN POETICS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Laxmīnath Bejbaua (Assamese)
Trailokyanāth Goswāmī (Assamese)
Mohit Majūmdar (Beṅgālī)
S.N. Dāsgupta (Beṅgālī)
Atulcandragupta (Beṅgālī)
Rām Candra Śukla (Hindī)
Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī (Hindī)
Nāgendra (Hindī)
Nanda Dulāre Vajpayee (Hindī)
Rewā Prasād Dwivedī (Hindī)

Rām Mūrti Tripāṭhī (Hindī)
Ānand Sankar Dixit (Hindī)
Rāmprasād Baxi (Gujarātī)
Ānandaśankara Dhruva (Gujarātī)
T. Venkatiayah (Kannaḍa)
K.V. Puttappa (Kannaḍa)
T.N. Śrīkanṭhaiyā (Kannaḍa)
Joseph Mundeshwari (Malayālam)
A.R. Rājrāj Vermā (Malyālam)
K. Murār (Malyālam)
K.N. Vatve (Marāṭhī)
R.S. Josh (Marāṭhī)
Upendra Bhañj (Oriyā)
Nīlkaṇṭhadās (Oriyā)
———, *Tolkappiyam* (Tamil)
S. Keśavrāj Mudāliyar (Tamil)
Pudumaippittan (Tamil)
M. Varadrājama (Tamil)
C. Raghunāthan (Tamil)
K. Rāmaliṅga Reddy (Telugu)
Viśwanāth Nārāyaṇa (Telugu)
G.V. Subramaṇyam (Telugu)

Appendix IV

Select List of Works in Hindī on Indian Poetics in the Twentieth Century

Rāmacandra Śukla, *Rasa Mīmāṁsā*, 1949.
Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Singh 'Sudhānśu,' *Jīvan Ke Tattva Aur Kāvya Ke Siddhānta*, 1942.
Rāmadehin Miśra, *Kāvya Mein Aprastuta Yojanā*, 1948.
Baldeva Upādhyāya, *Bhāratīya Sāhitya Śāstra*, Part II, 1948.
———, *Bhāratīya Sāhitya Śāstra*, Part I, 1950.
Gulābarāī, *Siddhānta aur Adhyayana*, 1951.
Rāmalāl Singh, *Samīkṣā Darśana*, 1952.
Sītārāma Caturvedī, *Samīkṣāśāstra*,1954.
S.P. Khatrī, *Ālocanā, Itihāsa Tathā Siddhānta*, 1955.
Nāgendra, *Bhāratīya Kāvyaśāstra Kī Bhūmikā*, 1955.
Śrī Vatakṛṣṇa, *Vīrrasa Ke Śāstrīya Vivecana*, 1956.
Ramamūrti Tripīṭhī, *Vyañjana Aur Navīna Kavitā*, 1957.

Nāgendra, *Rasa Siddhānta*, 1964.

Ramamūrti Tripāṭhī, *Aucityadarśana.*

Kṛṣṇadeva Jhari, *Rasaśāstra Aur Sāhityasamīkṣā*, 1965.

Indra Pāl Singh, *Śṛṅgāra Rasa Kā Sāhitya Vivecana*, 1967.

Ācārya Paraśurāma Caturvedī, *Śāntarasa*, 1967.

Śiva Bālak Roy, *Kāvya Mein Saundarya Aur Udatta Tattva*, 1968.

Bhagīratha Miśra, *Kāvya Mañjūṣā*, 1965.

Rāmanareśa Vermā, *Vakrokti Aur Abhivyañjana*, 1951.

Om Prakash, *Hindī Alaṁkāra Sāhitya*, 1956.

Bholāśaṅkara Vyāsa, *Dhvani Sampradāya Aur Uske Siddhānta*, 1956.

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Part VI

Philosophy, Logic and Language

24

Buddhist Traditions and Knowledge*

Geshe N. Samten

sarvadraṣṭi prāhnāy ya sadhaman maleśyat ।
anukampāya upādāy tam gautamam namāmi ॥

Let me state at the very outset that the seminar on "Indian Knowledge Systems" has been a very special experience for me; it was a *saṅgam* or confluence of various rivers of *jñāna* from different parts of India. We all had a bath in the *saṅgam* and purified ourselves. However, I must state it here that though we discussed *Bhāratīya Jñāna Paddhati* (Indian Knowledge System), yet we used an *abhāratīya* (non-Indian) language to communicate and transact our academic business. It should have been either in Hindī or Sanskrit or any other Indian language, for there are many terms and concepts that cannot be translated in English but are better understood in our own languages. So I don't find a convincing factor, for me to use English as a medium of communication. A few years ago I expounded the same feelings, in another context at a meeting of the Vice Chancellors of northern India, held in Jhansi on the topic "Preservation of Indian Knowledge and Globalization of Indian higher Education." The proceedings of the first session were conducted in English. I asked the question regarding the logic of conducting the proceedings in English when we were discussing on preservation of Indian Knowledge and neither the addressers nor the addressees were English-speaking people. After that all the name plates were changed and even the proceedings were conducted in Hindī. Since I did not want to return with a guilty conscience, I overturned my disposition and thus opted to speak in Hindī.

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* (Translated into English from Hindi version of the extempore lecture for the sake of linguistic uniformity of the volume. This talk was given at the valedictory session and transcribed and translated by Professor Avadhesh Kumar Singh.)

The first and foremost thing to remember about Indian Knowledge Systems is that they are not mere texts; they revolve around a school, methodology, tenet and a thinker. So whether it is a question of understanding an Indian Knowledge System or of reviving the system, it has to be considered in the light of nature and complete perspective of the school or system. Here I would like to add one more point through Vasubandhu's remark regarding Buddhist *dharma śāsana*:

> *sadaharmo dvividhaḥ shasturāgamādhigamātmakaḥ* ।
> *dhātāraḥ tasya vaktāraḥ pratipattāraḥ evā ca* ॥

He asks the question, what is *sadhamma* and what is *Buddhaśāsana*? The *Buddhaśāsana* (discipline of Buddhism) is made of Āgama and *adhigama*. The question, then, arises: how does one hold Āgama, and *pratipatti*. The Āgama is held through teaching and *vāṇī paramparā* (oral tradition of speech). *Vāṇī paramparā* leads to Śruti *paramparā* (which is learnt in the process of hearing the teachings (*vāṇī*) of *guru* or learned elders). Then it is not merely a text read or interpreted in a particular manner by an individual. It includes an individual's experience in it. So Śruti *paramparā* is based on what one hears and learns from one's *guru* or predecessor and from one's own experience. It is followed by *pratipatti* or its practice. No *paramparā* or tradition can be considered alive until and unless it combines the traditions of Śruti and of *pratipatti*. It is a criterion of considering a tradition as dead or alive. Just because certain texts of a system/tradition are preserved does not mean that the *paramparā* is alive. To do so we need to find out if it exists in the form of Śruti *paramparā* and its *pratipatti*, i.e., the tradition of practice. The combination of two keeps a tradition alive. On these criteria we have to find out if our traditions and systems are alive or dead. India had knowledge systems and traditions more than the number of rivers. Unfortunately quite a few of them are no more there. For example, take the case of Sāṁkhya *paramparā*. It is in a feeble state. Many of its texts are not available now and the number of its followers from philosophical and theoretical perspective is very negligible. Like the Sāṁkhya *paramparā* there are so many that need to be preserved for the redemption of entire humanity.

I stated earlier that the *paramparā* is a confluence of Śruti and *pratipatti*: I must add here that the Śruti *paramparā* that can be called as oral transmission, if you so wish, has its own *paramparā* or method of interpretation. In the Buddhist tradition, like other Indian traditions, one is free to interpret or analyse a text independently. But to do so one not only has to "enter" the tradition, but to earn the right as well within the Śruti *paramparā*. One cannot interpret it in any way one wants. No one should impose one's free interpretations on it, without relying on scriptural and logical ground, but the Western tradition permits it. In their tradition once the text is out of your hands, any one can interpret it in any way he desires. There is no denying the fact that the Western hermeneutic tradition has its own virtues with texts being the compositions of ordinary human beings, not of seers or *ṛṣis*, and there is always some scope to add or delete to the compositions of ordinary human beings. But in Indian tradition, the primary texts are considered compositions of *ṛṣis* and spiritual seers. So the interpreters or commentators when they deviate even a bit from the line of thinking of the original seer or thinker, they state that they do so in accordance with the purport of the thinker. This concept or method of explanation or interpretation within the school is uniquely Indian.

The Buddhist tradition which existed in places like Nalanda, Vikramshila, etc, had disappeared in India, but still preserved in Tibet. The studies undertaken in those great institutions were not confined to religious and philosophical studies. All the secular subjects like astronomy, astrology, grammar, poetry, art, etc, were also studied. Tibet also adopted the same pattern of system. Therefore you can see the tradition of all the fields of studies known as *Daśa Vidya* is still maintained in Tibetan community. The Śāstra like *Vyākarṇa Śāstra* or grammar is secular. In the Tibetan language it is equivalent to *sāmānya śāstra* (system or discipline). It means, that it is not spiritual. Quite a few such Śāstras, e.g., *Katantraya Vyākarṇa, Chandra Vyākaraṇa* and *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* are extinct from India. However, their traditions are still in existence in Tibet. The Pāṇini Grammar was not available in Tibet. When H.H. Dalai Lama V came to know that the Pāṇini Grammar popular in India but not known in Tibet, he sent a student to India who studied and translated Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The translation is still preserved in the Tengyur Collection. The tradition of preserving Indian texts in Tibetan continued for long but came to an end in the twelfth century. The Dalai Lama V has revived the tradition at least in case of the Paṇīnian grammar.

Let us now take the case of the Tantra Śāstra. As known to most of us, it is a comprehensive and systematic Śāstra like the Nyāya and it is to be patterned in the same manner and rigour. To illustrate my point. I would take an interersting example, for it contains many cultural references in it. Tantra has many rituals, ceremonies and processes in the context of which death is a process of transforming the present physiological structure and of attaining *sūkṣma tattva* through spiritual meditation. In Buddhist tradition death is not a negative concept; rather it is a creative occasion. There are many Tantra practices that meditate on death like *kālacakra*s, for example, *Bhairava Vajra Yoginī* in which the seeker meditates on death in a systematic and minute manner. They enter the process of death and experience death. When one becomes a master of the process, he can give up his body at his will, not to attain just death but to transform it into the form of meditation of highest order. This realization is not possible for ordinary beings. The seeker has to understand the practical aspects and also follow them in practice. Moreover, the spiritual pursuit of the seeker should also be of a very high order, only then he can enter that stage of Tantra and give up his body any time. The process is extremely difficult and complex. To support my point I should mention the case of an elderly *guru* who used to live in a monastery in eastern Tibet and led people spiritually and socially as well. When China attacked Tibet and Chinese army surrounded the monastery, the *gurujī* asked all to leave the temple and flee to central Tibet. The followers had to obey the instruction of the *gurujī*. But by the time people could go down and flee, the Chinese army captured them and enquired about their leader. The soldiers forcibly took them there where some of the Chinese soldiers had already reached. So when the disciples told the soldiers that the *gurujī* is in the upper storey, a Chinese soldier came and told that the *gurujī* was not there, instead there was a dead body of a child. Hearing this when a disciple went there, he too saw the same, about a couple-foot long dead body of the teacher. He told that that was the *gurujī*. There were a few in the Chinese army who had seen *gurujī*. On seeing the face of the teacher, they too recognized him. But the Chinese soldiers did not believe even the words of their own compatriots and said that the disciples would have placed the dead body of some child resembling the *gurujī*, after killing him. But the body of *gurujī* further decreased in size in front of the Chinese soldiers from the earlier size which could be easily carried in a lap. Only then they believed and left the place saying that these Tibetans do such strange things. It proves that the teacher was a great philosopher, spiritual leader and master of Tantra. He gave up his body after entering the process of death. He was free to give up his body. This method of entering this process of death is not a new phenomenon. If you go to the Tibetan community, you would still see quite a few teachers who remain in a state of *samādhi* or meditation for days, weeks and even months after they stopped breathing. When one of my teachers, who was a great scholar and practitioner in southern India, died his diary was found that contained even the minutest details of days, hours and minutes regarding his physical death and the time of the end of his *samādhi*. He had also mentioned the place and manner of his funeral pyre and also the name of the person who would perfom all rituals.

What I wanted to submit was that the traditions such as these are still alive. They are not dead. There are still practitioners in the hermitages at places like Dharamshala, Kalimpong and Darjeeling who have achieved this state. Our tradition also says that there are three kinds of spiritual persons. The *adhama* kinds of persons are those who do not repent at the time of death. The *madhyama* are those who are not scared of death. The *uttama* are those who happily embrace death. From this standard if we are afraid of death, we are not *sādhaka* (seekers). And if we begin to worry about death, then we are worse than the *adhama sādhaka*. Even today there are many seekers and meditators, as I mentioned earlier, who have overcome quite a few material problems. Moreover, the food that we eat does not suit them to keep their bodies clean and *sūkṣma*. They make pills or tablets of leaves, flowers and roots. These pills are called in Tibetan "Deu chulen" whose equivalent I have not been able to find in Sanskrit. They are not medicines, in the technical sense, but a mixture of herbs and roots. Initially they takes more pills, then reduce the number gradually to one pill a day. Then comes a stage when they do not need even one in a day. They lead their lives just by meditation. These meditators find it difficult to talk to people who take normal food because the latter emanate foul smell from their body. So they talk to others from a distance.

The preservation of this tradition is an evidence of our contribution to the society. A few months ago a group of scientists of American universities came to observe and examine the mind of the people in meditation. This kind of scientific observation with Tibetan practitioners started quite sometime back. We have permitted them to do so. They were immensely impressed. In this process of acceptance and glorification of Tibetan tradition, I see glorification of Indian tradition because the Tibetan tradition is primarily Indian as His Holiness Dalai Lama often says so. A couple of years ago he composed a *stuti* of 17 *ācārya*s of Nālandā. Between seventh and twelfth century many scholars from Nālandā, Taxila, Vikramashila, Kashmir and other places came to Tibet. However, our tradition is based primarily on the Nālandā school.

What I wanted to say is that our energy should be invested in finding out ways and means of preserving the existing Indian traditions of knowledge and reviving those that are either extinct or on the verge of extinction. Here I wish to submit to you that Indian mind is primarily spiritual, and so are its systems of knowledge. If you observe carefully, our polity, medicine-taking, or whatever you may do, all of them are associated with spirituality. The Indian system of medicine focuses on spirituality and equipoise of *citta;* and therefore is holistic in its perspective. The Western medical science has achieved quite remarkable feats in the field, but it has focused primarily on external world or material physiology, excluding the mental realm of the personality and confining itself to the physical aspect of the person. But an individual is made up of body and mind, the *citta*, which is beyond the realm of brain. The disturbance in mind leads to disturbance in body. The Buddhist and Indian *Āyurveda* state that if our *citta* remains balanced, there can be no illness in the body.. This approach is holistic. Our system of grammar is also associated with spirituality. So is the case with our social organization. The West tried to move towards holistic organization of the society and experimented with communism but with a limited device restricted to rules and regulations. Can a society be organized only on the basis of law and order? In our Indian world-view equality is not achieved by laws and rules, it is realized in one's own vision. Our culture asks us to see in ourselves and achieve equality within us; thus we have to cultivate equality within overselves. It is a kind of mental aspect, a personal approach that has to be developed within yourself. It cannot be adopted through rules and regulations.

Buddhism has the concept of *upekṣā*, not in the derogatory sense of indifference but in the sense of equality without having either attachment or malice for anyone. It is a necessary stage for meditation and is a long process to cultivate. This holistic approach should mark our endeavours of preserving, reviving and furthering Indian systems of knowledge.

I would like to conclude with a few germane points. The Indian scholars will have to think of preserving and reviving all traditions of the country. For this it is necessary to have a sense of pride in them and an awareness that the true scholars of Indian knowledge systems are not necessarily inside but outside the domain of our university system. We will have to find out the individuals, hitherto unnoticed and unsung, who have knowledge of the various systems of knowledge. Then we must analyse and examine traditions and see the point of rupture, if any, in them and find out ways of relinking or reviving them. It is not possible only through publication of treatises and texts. The Śruti *paramparā* and the tradition of its observation through experience should also be sought and furthered. The traditions, which have become extinct, their texts and treatises should be studied.

Secondly, when we compare Indian with Western or modern with classical, we should not be depreciative in our disposition because both the traditions have tried to contribute to the development of humanity in their own way. The West has made some remarkable studies in this direction and there are number of things that we can take from them. The Indian tradition always incorporated any idea worth incorporating, irrespective of its origin. Thus there is nothing like the concept of absolute purity and if anyone from us claims absolute purity of tradition she/he speaks of what is impossible. We follow the *Yuga-dharma*, as our tradition accepts that the age leaves its impact on every tradition and we move ahead accordingly. Both in the West and in India, ancient and new traditions and systems of knowledge should strive to enrich and serve humanity. I am sure that the Indian glory would not remain limited to the Śruti only but manifest itself in concrete terms in days to come.

25

Indian Ontology
From Veda to Vedānta

Shashiprabha Kumar

ONTOLOGY is a term used in Western philosophy;[1] in Indian thought, the basic quest for truth or reality is the realm of *darśana* and the term itself significantly distinguishes Indian philosophy from the Western. *Darśana* is a wider term which includes perception, inference and other forms of experience as well but aims at having a direct apprehension of reality, i.e., *tattva-darśana*. Basic human inclinations as well as metaphysical and moral issues are all covered in its fold, but the most important aspect has been a perennial pursuit of *tattva* or reality. Hence, if ontology is a science which deals with the nature of reality, then Indian philosophy may well be characterized as *tattva-mīmāṁsā*, since there is no denying the fact that Indian philosophy is a quest for the knowledge of reality.

As a meta-enquiry, philosophy touches various disciplines; there's no territorial boundary demarcating one area from another in the world of knowledge. There are natural kinds or theoretical specifications which give rise to different designations such as ontology, theology, epistemology and ethics in Western philosophy. From Aristotle onwards, philosophy in the West has been an intellectual enterprise, an analysis of knowledge and its approach is therefore mainly epistemological. But Aristotle himself refers to the question of "being" and postulates "a science which investigates being as being and what belongs to it according to its own nature."[2] In the early seventeenth century, this very significant and all comprehensive "science," which Aristotle himself called "first philosophy," became known as ontology. It has been defined as "science of being in general, or in so far as it is being."[3]

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[1] The first usage of the word is available in R. Goclenius, *Lexicon Philossophicum*, Frankfurt, 1613.

[2] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1003 a.

In Indian thought right from the *Ṛgveda* up to the modern philosophers, we notice an inner urge, an inherent tendency to explore the ultimate truth behind the visible world. There are extremely different positions or ontological approaches such as materialism, realism and idealism but they are all various expressions of the metaphysical structure of experience. Just as there are different levels of experience, similarly there are several statements; none of these statements is complete or correct exclusively, rather there is an underlying current of consistency which percolates throughout the development of Indian thought.

Indian philosophical tradition has been deeply engaged with ontology, the study of being, as will be evident from the following exposition wherein all the streams of thought emerge and submerge in the vast ocean of *tattvamīmāṁsā*. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the same subtle but poignant continuity of Indian ontology, of course, in a very sketchy manner.

In the oldest available documents of Indian thought, i.e., the Vedas, being and non-being occur as themes of enquiry in cosmogonic context[4] and have contributed to the development of ontological tradition in India. The unaccountable and inexplicable nature of reality or *tattva* has fascinated and bewildered the human mind from the Vedic period; that is why it was expressed as an interrogative pronoun *ka*.[5] This unknown notion was claimed to be the tallest question, *saṁpraśna*;[6] the more its answer evaded human grasp, the more it evoked serious speculation. Consequently, the same *tattva* which was questioned as *ka*, was first expressed as an indefinite pronoun *yat*[7] and was later followed by a definite one, *tat*.[8] In fact, it is the essence of *tat* (*tat* + *tva*) which is explained as *tattva* and the discussion of *tattva* is the subject of *tattvamīmāṁsā* in Indian tradition which is equivalent to and broader than its Western counterpart. It included both "the essence" and "the existence" to use the terms of Western ontology.

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[3] Christian Wolff, *Philosophia prima sive Ontologia*, Frankfurt, 1730.

[4] *sato bandhumasati niravindan* — *Ṛgveda*, 10/129/4.

[5] *kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema* — *Ibid.*, 10/129/1-9.

[6] *taṁ saṁpraśnaṁ bhuvanā yanti sarvā* — *Atharvaveda*, 2/1/3.

[7] *vi idam jyotiḥ hṛdaye āhitam yat* — *Ṛgveda*, 6/9/6.

[8] *tadasya rūpam praticakṣaṇāya* — *Ibid.*, 6/47/18.

It is interesting to note that the Vedic seers not only travelled from *ka* to *tat* in their mental exploration about the nature of ultimate reality, but also emphasized their attainment by using such clear statements as *tadeva*.[9] They also qualified this *tat* with an adjective *sat*,[10] which later became a very popular and favourite expression in Indian tradition. The appendix of *Nirukta* enumerates several names as synonyms of the *mahān ātmā* and it includes the four words mentioned above: *Yat*, *tat*, *sat* and *kim*. It must also be clarified here that the concept of *tattva* is more inclusive than the Western idea of "being" in the sense that both *sat* and *asat* are the intrinsic aspects of *tattva*; it is from the womb of *asat* that the birth of *sat* takes place.[11] The basic and inherent identity of these two aspects is a very significant clue to unfold the ontological secret of Vedic statements.

The Upaniṣads carried this idea forward and elaborated the concept of *sat* and *asat*; a long debate has taken place among the interpreters of Upaniṣads regarding the semantics of these terms. It has also been suggested that the first reference to *sat* in statements like the sixth chapter of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[12] is the beginning of the so-called *sadvidyā* and constitutes the transition from a mythological stage to a more or less philosophical one or simply the beginning of philosophy in India.[13] Although it is questionable whether there is such an identifiable beginning of Indian philosophy, yet there is no doubt about the fact that the Upaniṣads have been the source books for different philosophical ideas which were developed over the centuries in this country. The notions of *tattva*, *sat*, *ātman* and *brahman* are discussed at length and through various modes of expression in the Upaniṣads.

The later philosophical schools of Indian tradition developed different viewpoints with regard to the nature of "being" depending upon their basic nature of reality. It will be an enlightening endeavour to examine the inner thread of interconnectedness among these schools as follows:

The first step in the development of Indian ontology is evidently that of materialism, according to which consciousness is a product of matter. Scholars and teachers who advocated materialistic doctrines, have cited Vedic and Upaniṣadic references to support their own views mentioned as Lokāyata or Cārvāka. By the time of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, this popular world-affirming outlook had developed into a fully articulated philosophic system. That is why Madhva has included it as the first philosophy in his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, the compendium of Indian philosophical schools and prominent followers of other systems deem it important to refute it while seeking to establish their own.

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[9] *tadevāgnistadādityastadu vāyustadu candramāḥ* ।
tadeva śukraṁ tad brahma tā āpaḥ sa prajapatiḥ ॥ — *Yajurveda*, 32/1.

[10] *venastat paśyannihitaṁ guhā sat* — *Ibid.*, 32/8.

[11] *devānām pūrvye yuge 'sataḥ sadajāyata* — *Ṛgveda*, 10/72/2.

[12] *sadeva somyedamagra āsīt* — *Chāndogya*, 6/1/4.

[13] J.A.B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja's Vedārthasaṁgraha*, Poona, 1956, p. 3.

According to Cārvāka philosophy the first acquaintance of a human being with the outer world is through sense-organs and it is therefore that the materialists accept it as the only valid means of cognition. Hence they take only the sense-data and the empirical experience as real. Matter and material products alone are *sat* according to this view.

Obviously, the Cārvāka response to excessive and vigorous Vedic rituals came as an offensive and negative extreme. The later Vedic thought, particularly some of the Upaniṣads had negated the external world as ultimate reality by statements such as *neti neti*. Commonsensical view of the not so philosophically evolved minds got a severe jolt and they reacted strongly by asserting that:

(i) Perception alone is the means to valid cognition.

(ii) Earth, water, fire and air — the four visually perceptible *bhūta*s and their various conglomerations are the only reals.

(iii) *Ākāśa*, *ātman*, *anumāna* and *apavarga* are not real, since they are not experienced as such.

(iv) The physical body is the ultimate real and its gratification is the highest end.

(v) Prosperity or success (*artha*) and enjoyment or pleasure (*kāma*) alone are values in human life.

Taking clue from the materialistic world-view of Lokāyata, the Jaina Philosophy posited its own viewpoint of reality and propounded a pluralistic notion of *vastu* which has innumerable features.[14] Though eternal in itself, reality possesses certain characteristics which undergo modification or change.[15] Hence, a theory of conditional or relative existence is developed by them according to which things have a composite nature and so may be comprehended and expressed in various ways. The most important contribution of Jainism to Indian ontology is its "intense interest in external world, leading it to develop a sort of scientific cosmology and its theory of plurality of souls with different qualities which enable them to be the loci of cognitive and conative processes and capable of action."[16] The works of Jaina writers like Siddhasena Divakara and Mallavādina[17] are among the most important documents of Indian ontology. In fact, the challenge of Cārvāka and other non-Vedic schools like Jaina and Buddhist has been of great importance for the development of Indian philosophy in general and for Indian ontology in particular.

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[14] *anantadharmātmakaṁ vastu* — *Anyayogavyavacchedikā*, p. 22.

[15] *guṇaparyāyavad dravyam* — *Tattvārthasūtra*, 5/38.

The pluralistic realism propounded by Jainism is accepted by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools too. According to this stream of thought, the world, as it is experienced by us, is diverse and multifarious but for the purpose of understanding and analysing its basic nature, we have to classify it in various types of reals, i.e., *padārtha*s. The crux and criterion of these *padārtha*s is threefold: *astitva, abhidheyatva* and *jñeyatva*[18] which was later modified as *prameyatva*. These three features represent the three aspects of **reality, language** and **thought**. In other words, anything that is knowable and nameable, has an objective existence because experience is the foundation for all claims of knowledge.

The Vaiśeṣika exposition of *padārtha* is worth juxtaposing the view of a Western philosopher Quine's popular and apparently simple issue of ontological problem posed and resolved as: "What is there? Everything."[19] Obviously, the one-word comprehensive answer leaves much room for disagreement and so the issue has been alive for centuries. Similarly in the words of G. Bergmann : "an ontology is an inventory of what exists (is there)."[20] This statement somehow reflects the ancient Indian style of elaborate enumeration and classification typically exemplified in the Vaiśeṣika list of categories and their subdivisions.

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[16] K.S. Murthy, *Philosophy in India*, ICPR, New Delhi, 1991, p. 16.

[17] (i) *Sanmatitarka* by Siddhasena Divākara, Bombay, 1939.
(ii) *Dvādaśāranayacakra* by Mallavādina, Bhavanagar, 1966-88.

[18] *saṇṇāmapi padārthānāmastitvābhidheyatvajñeyatvāni.*
— Praśastapāda, *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*, p. 6.

[19] W.V. Quine, *From a Logical Point of View*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p. 1.

[20] G. Bergman, *Logic and Reality*, Madison, 1964, p. 127.

The concepts of *dravya* including four types of *paramāṇus, guṇa, karma, sāmānya, viśeṣa, samavāya* and *abhāva* are the basic factors of reality and its structure envisaged by the Vaiśeṣika is a "horizontal, synchronic arrangement."[21] Evidently, the cosmogenic tendency of Vedic speculation on the origin of the world seems to be metamorphosed in the Vaiśeṣika list of categories. To put it more precisely, the old Vedic question, "what was there in the beginning?" appears to be translated into the question : "What is there?" in Vaiśeṣika ontology.

It is worth mentioning at this point that Nyāya, a cognate school of Vaiśeṣika, developed a suitable epistemology comprising of four *pramāṇas* for the purpose of comprehending and grasping the forms of ontic reals accepted and enumerated by the Vaiśeṣika.

As far as the nature of reality or *tattva* is concerned, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas have designated it as *sat* as well as *asat.*[22] According to them, both the matter and spirit are real, independent and interrelated. But the spirit or *ātman* is not conscious by nature, consciousness is its adventitious attribute.

Mīmāṁsā school of Kumārila is also a pluralistic realism and it accepts the ontological structure of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika with some minor modifications here and there.

Of all the systems of Indian philosophy, Sāṁkhya propounds a dualistic ontology according to which the world of our experience is characterized by the reality of subject and object. Accordingly *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are the two principles of universe and both of these represent the self and the non-self respectively. The self or *puruṣa* according to Sāṁkhya is *jña*, i.e., of the nature of consciousness. The Sāṁkhya propounds an evolutionistic model in which *prakṛti* or *pradhāna* is the first causal principle of the universe and the multiplicity and variety of the world are explained as a result of the mutual action and reaction of the conflicting tendencies inherent in that itself. What is important, however, is that unlike the Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya enumerates a "vertical structure of entities evolving in successive stages."[23] Yoga accepts the Sāṁkhya theory of evolution and adds to it another dimension of meditation consisting of eight limbs.

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[21] Wilhelm Halbfass, *On Being and What There Is*, Suny, 1992, p. 49.

[22] *sadasatī tat, tasya bhāvaḥ tattvam — Nyāyavārttika*, p. 8.

[23] Wilhelm Halbfass, *On Being and What There Is*, Suny, 1992, p. 48.

In between these extreme positions of *asat* and *sat*, change and permanence, matter and spirit, the philosophy of Buddha appears as a "middle way." Although in the ontological debate of the classical period, the Buddhists advocate non-self and non-identity, becoming and impermanence, yet they propound more systematic and technical conceptions of *kṣaṇikatva* and *śūnyatā*. Detailed description of enumeration and classification is found in the Abhidharma tradition of Buddhism. The basic motivation of these delineations is practical and teleological. Regarding the nature of reality, the Buddhist philosophers have rejected a number of definitions and given their own view as *arthakriyākāritva*;[24] practical efficiency is the criterion of reality according to them.

This approach of the Buddhists, especially in its Mahāyāna versions, has striking similarities with the tradition of Advaita Vedānta.

Vedānta is the last and the most popular among various systems of Indian Philosophy, its tone is monistic from the ontological point of view. According to Vedāntic view, the reality in its essential nature is one, external and immutable; it is beyond the realm of sense-organs, experience alone can help in its realization. The Supreme, single principle of consciousness is expressed in many ways such as *Brahman, ātman, bhūmā* and *saccidānanda*. It should be stated here that the same reality which was described as a substratum of consciousness in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, of the nature of consciousness in Sāṁkhya, is enunciated as truth, knowledge and bliss in the Vedānta. In fact, it is the systematic presentation of the teachings of Upaniṣads. Besides the Advaitic interpretation by Śaṅkara there have been other interpretations of the *Vedāntasūtra*s like Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja, Dvaita of Madhva and Śuddhādvaita of Vallabha.

It is noteworthy here that one of the contemporary Jaina writers has tried to trace the common link amongst different schools of Indian philosophy regarding the nature of reality and has suggested that in sketching the outline of Indian ontology, an important guiding principle may be the concept of "identity" or "difference." According to him, depending on the "adherence" to any one or both of these in equal or unequal proportions, various schools of Indian Philosophy may be classified as follows :

1. The Philosophy of Being or Identity.
2. The Philosophy of Becoming (Change) or Difference.

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[24] *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī*, ed. A. Thakur, Patna, 1957, p. 62.

3. The Philosophy subordinating Difference to Identity.
4. The Philosophy subordinating Identity to Difference.
5. The Philosophy co-ordinating both Identity and Difference.

Advaita Vedānta, Buddhism, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika and Jainism can be put as the respective schools under each category.[25]

On the basis of the above, it may be said that the Indian thought about being or *tattva* has developed gradually along with the development of Indian philosophy in general. In accordance with the general character of Indian thought, the same, single thread of one idea of reality pervading the whole universe which was suggested in the Vedic view, has been constantly running throughout the ontological sojourn of Indian mind. The starting point of Cārvāka materialism and the culminating point of Vedānta monism should not be seen as two exclusive and extreme positions of two individuals, rather should be understood as an inclusive and integrated approach of the universal human urge to explore and examine the newer shades of the ever expanding reality which is eternal as well as constantly changing, ultimately one but empirically consisting of innumerable expressions.

To conclude, the Indian model of continuity and change, being and becoming, *sat* and *asat*, one and many, matter and spirit, existence and essence is very peculiar in the sense that it is holistic and comprehensive, it can't be understood in isolation — it has to be understood in entirely and inclusion.

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[25] Y.J. Padmarajiah, *Jaina Theories of Reality and Knowledge*, MLBD, Delhi, 1963, pp. 25-26.

26

One Universe — Multiple Systems

Two Major Sources

Renu Malhotra

A HUMAN being is considered the crown of creation by all traditions. However, the reasons for thinking this way differ greatly between the two main source traditions of the world, as we know them. The two traditions referred to are, the Vedic *dharma*-based traditions of Bhārat/India on one side and the Judeo-Christian and Islamic religions, on the other side. Each side has had its influence on the world at different times. However, only the Vedic *Sanātana* Hindu *Dharma* continues, unbroken since time immemorial. At the present time the need to reaffirm this ancient tradition is very great indeed as the world seems to lack much of what is noble and thus useful to humanity.

What has popularly come to be called Western culture has its base in the Judeo-Christian thinking, while the East draws its inspiration from the Vedic concepts of *dharma, karma* (*puṇya* and *pāpa*) and *punarjanma*. These two have produced two very distinct world-views as well as lifestyles, which this paper hopes to discuss in some detail.

Let us first look at Advaita Vedānta and its vision for the human species. It recognizes the fundamental human problem as being a feeling of inadequacy on the part of an individual, in every area of life. All knowledge is infinite, and as finite beings we cannot possibly be totally knowledgeable in any area, nor can we feel totally secure. Unless of course, there is an error in our perception of who we really are. It concludes, that this is exactly the human problem — a wrong perception of who we are in reality. Thus, the goal of a human life is to discover the real self. So the Vedic mandate is:

> *śarīram ādyam khalu dharma sādhanam* ।

The body is seen as only a vehicle to understand *dharma* and act in accordance. *Sanātana dharma* is *sanātana* — always existing, not because we believe so. It is a natural law much like the Law of Gravitation. Even before Newton's name got attached to it, humans and the animal world sensed it; both human babies and monkey babies show signs of feeling the existence of the gravitational pull of the earth in the way they hold on to their mothers. Neither English nor any other particular education is the prerequisite for knowledge of either universal values or natural laws; if it was so, they could not be considered universal or natural as they would vary from place to place and person to person. Any value or law that needs to be taught is in fact a cultural value/law, specific to certain groups, at certain places and events at certain times.

To understand the law of *dharma*, the law of *karma* bringing about *karma-phala*, and the understanding of *puṇya-pāpa* and *punarjanma*, Vedānta has a very well-developed methodology and a tradition of *guru-śiṣya paramparā* that has allowed this amazing knowledge to be passed down continuously even through the worst of times. The history of Bhārat has been glorious when this knowledge was dominant and has fallen to unbelievable lows whenever this knowledge has become dormant. Now it seems, a time for re-emergence of this knowledge is once again here.

With not one — but two religions each wanting control over all of us, there can never be any semblance of peace. Peace surely does not come by sending cards once a year with "peace on earth" printed across them! Hindus, who know the value of Vedānta for human race, are duty bound to learn better and to do everything to bring back the concepts still meticulously enshrined in this *śabda pramāṇa* (words as a means of knowledge of that which cannot be known through *perception* or *inference*). To put it in easier terms, it is the use of word as a means of knowledge for that which is not obvious to us. It is to be learnt from a *guru* who should be: *śrotriyam brahmaniṣṭham* — one who has learnt in the tradition (*sampradāyavit*) and is steadfast in that knowledge.

Certain terminology has to be clear for us to proceed further in our discussion. The word *satyam* and *mithyā* are well known to people of Bhārat, but the understanding has become unclear over time. One contributing factor is the change from Sanskrit and our regional languages, to English, which is not equipped for the subtleties of Vedāntic thought. As scholars of India have become comfortable with the English language, they have evolved a more adequate English vocabulary for complex Vedāntic thoughts.

The simplest way to understand *satyam* is to call it absolute reality, one that does not depend on anything else for its existence. *Mithyā* on the other hand is not illusion as the foreign writers would have us think, rather it is a dependent reality — its presence needs something else for it to exist. Looked at this way the *jagat* or this manifestation is *mithyā*, dependent on the *satyam* that we may refer to as *Brahman* or to use a more familiar term — *paramātmā*. In fact, many examples from the *śāstra* exist to clarify further. One such example is a wooden form that we call table. From another point of view it is only wood in a particular form so it can be called simply wood. From yet another level it can be seen as a tree, and even the tree can be transcended if we start thinking of the particles that make up a tree! Another famous example is a *ghaṭam* — a clay pot. Each pot can be different in size, colour, etc., but made of clay none the less. The clay too can be transcended to particles to atoms and so on all the way to the Absolute Reality, always the only reality to remain without any dependence whatsoever. So we can reduce everything that we know to a level of the absolute — to *satyam*. The whole manifest *jagat* is then names and forms — *nāma* and *rūpa* only. *Brahman* is the non-dependent, absolute reality. We have heard it often expressed as — *brahma sat, jagat mithyā*.

Vedānta sees this *satyam* as not only the root of all that is here — known or unknown, but also permeating the *jagat*. Hence all that is here is sacred and no inherent evil exists, contrary to what is commonly believed in the organized, exclusivist religions. What seems like evil is in fact ignorance of the Self, resulting in actions that hurt an individual as well as society; for no person is an island in her/himself — there is an inherent interdependence of each and everything. Quantum physics has also come to the conclusion of everything being interconnected! It is obvious that this field of physics has been aided by the understanding of Vedic literature (the oldest surviving literature of the World) as has so much of the present human knowledge.

Vedānta asks and explains what is *Bhagavān*, using a model. Unlike the aggressive religions, it does not assign a place to God without first knowing what it is that is being given a location? This is an elaborate subject, so only some aspects are being touched upon. *Bhagavān* is a power that is 1: *sarvajña* (all knowing). Just as a pot maker must have knowledge of pot making; a cloth maker must have knowledge of cloth making; God, the maker of everything, must have knowledge of making everything 2: *sarva śaktimāna* (all powerful).

Along with knowledge, the ability, the skill to accomplish must be present. *Bhagavān* has complete power to produce this Whole Manifestation 3: *sarva vyāpaka* (limitless presence). In making of a thing both skill and the material are necessary. What is different about *Bhagavān*'s creation is that she/he cannot go outside to procure materials, because God being infinite, nothing exists outside. Time, even space are contained within God. So he creates from himself like the spider (*ūrṇanābhi*) and also takes it back into himself. In more technical terms, God is called both the *efficient cause* and the *material cause* of this creation — called the *jagat* or universe. This is explained with the often-used model of the dream world in which we make everything out of ourselves. This fact of *sarvavyāpaktvam* of God is the most difficult for people to understand without a teacher. It is also the hardest for the other religions to accept. This concept gives us respect for all that exists because all is *Bhagavān*. We do not have to teach respect for each thing individually. Respect becomes the natural by-product of the understanding of the *jagat* as a manifestation of the Almighty. If these heaven-going religions were to accept this fact, much of their systems will not hold up, as where will hell, original sin and evil originate from? The *rudra rūpa* (fear invoking) form of the Almighty will have to be accepted also as lovable. The Hindus invoke the *rudra rūpa* in many forms as Kālī, Caṇḍī, Bhairava and many more. It takes great understanding, along with much grace of *Bhagavān*, to see that there cannot be two forces. Organized religions with their limited understanding of God, have continued to use these worshipful symbols of the Hindus to denigrate the Vedic culture. Hindus are the only people who invoke even Lord Yama (lord of death). It is not that he is the God of death, rather death too is God, as no other sources exist. Anything else would mean limiting *Bhagavān* the limitless!

Vedānta forms the foundation of Hindu tradition and according to it no one has to go anywhere to find Heaven/Hell-like conditions. Even if there is a place of pleasure like *svarga* or a place of pain like *naraka* they are not eternal. They are places where the *puṇya* and the *pāpa* get exhausted and then we must return to a place of Free Will to know the self. It is Free Will that liberates us and makes us the crown of this creation. Heaven may also be seen as being in the mind of human being. This can happen in the worst of circumstances too. Similarly a hell may be carried in our mind and remains even in the best of times. This is easy to understand when one lives in affluence in the First World countries of the West, who unfortunately are spiritually considered to be in the Third World. So the whole thrust of Hindu *dharma* has been to achieve a state of mind that can find its contentment no matter what the outer conditions are. All spiritual practices of the *dharma*-based traditions of Bhārat are to develop a mind that abides in itself and is at peace. The normal *svabhāva* of a human mind is to move like a monkey and fast like the all-pervading wind. As a *karṇam* (an instrument of perception), the mind must have this quality of quick movement, otherwise one frame of thought will stay and the next will not be able to come! Think this through please — it is so!

Dhyānam (meditation), *yoga*, *parāyanam* (chanting) of *mantras/japa*, even to some extent rituals, are to bring certain equanimity to our minds. The opening prayer at the Hindu altar is:

> *śubham karoti kalyāṇam, ārogya dhanasampadaḥ* ।
> *śatrubuddhi vināśāye dipajyotir namostute* ॥
>
> Along with health, wealth and well-being in all endeavours we ask
> for a mind that is not an enemy to us.

It is a recognition of a fact that unless the mind is calm nothing can be accomplished or enjoyed! So the prayer is to make the mind a friend. Another misconception about Advaita Vedānta is that it denies dvaita or duality. How can we deny what we experience at every moment of our waking hours? Advaita does not deny the duality at all. It affirms it as the reality we see and experience; but it goes on to show that there is something more behind the obvious. This whole teaching tradition is for us to learn what is not apparent but is in fact the reality of everything including ourselves that we always miss. This is pointed out by the Hindu *śāstra* (sacred literature) in very many ways. A *guru* has to be sought to remove all doubts. No effort to teach is necessary for that which is already clear, so we need not tell anyone that she/he is different from another thing (*dvaitam*) as she/he knows that all the time. However, a lot of teaching is needed to know that in fact each is interconnected to every other thing in this universe and finally, there is only one *Brahman* manifesting in all the innumerable variations that we experience. Another way to put it is that there is duality in the experiential world but the reality behind this duality is one. This One is the consciousness abiding in each of us, and also all order is contained therein. Vedānta lets a person see that she/he is the knower not the known, or is the seer not the seen. (A great text called *Dṛga Dṛsya Viveka* explains this beautifully and must be studied with a good traditional teacher.) Anything that a person can objectify, cannot be the subject. So if one can see one's body as an object, as well as one's thoughts, which are occurring in the mind, then all those are **Objects** and only the one who knows all this, is the **Subject.** She/he is neither the body nor the mind, but rather the *one who lights up the body, the mind* and the thoughts in the mind — she/he is the **knower** of all that is there, all that exists. This is who we are — the *ātmā* — unborn, undying, ever existing — *satyam.* So the *mahāvākya* — *tat tvam asi* — that thou are — is the result of this Knowledge.

A human being has free will and that is why the concept of *karma* is present. Animals do not have *karma*, as there is no freedom of action. However, this free will is free in relation to action only. We can act, not act or act in a different way. Action is called *karma* and carries with it an appropriate *phala* (result). Together this is called the *karma-phala* — either as a result of *puṇya karma* (that harmonizes) or *pāpa karma* (that disturbs). Our free will can be the *hetu* (cause) of our *karma* or action only — but there is no free will in terms of the *phala* or result, whatsoever. Once a person decides to do an action an appropriate result will accrue which will bring about a pleasant or unpleasant situation. Free will is free only if it can be used and misused. Maturity is to learn to use it for the good of all. An appropriate result does not always mean what we want; rather what is right according to the law of the universe. This is evident in the famous *śloka* of the *Bhagavad-Gītā:*

> *karmaṇyevādhikā raste mā phaleṣu kadācana* ।
> *mā karmaphalahetu bhūḥ mate sangotvakarmaṇi* ॥
>
> We as individuals have the right to action only, but have no control on the results that may come to us.

Further it is cautioned that we should not become attached to inaction, on account of thinking that since the result is not under our control why even bother to act! So the chances of misrepresentation and misunderstanding have been anticipated and cautioned against. This has been highly misrepresented in text after text in English by people outside the tradition as well as by our own writers, as *desireless action.* No such action is possible, as *icchā* or desire is the inspiration of all action, even automatic actions, like breathing, blinking, etc., are need-based. *Icchā* is a *śakti*. So an individual as well as societies, by their own actions create a bank account of *sañcita karma*. This then is reflected in the *prārabdha karma* (present manifestation of *karmas*) according to which one leads one's present life. This understanding leads to a responsible, duty bound, accommodating as well as accomplishing mind that can keep its balance through all tribulations that life may offer. This is what the Vedic *ṛṣis* aimed to do for humanity, and they did an amazing job! The foundations were laid so very well that these ideas became familiar to almost all in Bhāratvarṣa and most of Asia, including China and now slowly entering the Western nations.

With this very basic familiarity with Vedāntic thought we can see that the vision of such a tradition and the society it envisions will sharply differ from that of religions based on the simple and erroneous Heaven and Hell paradigms. The two proselytizing (seeking to convert) systems seem to be based on a good measure of fear, guilt and a lot of control by organized goups instead of a simple spiritual pursuit. Such systems have done harm by forcing people to accept beliefs without questioning. The human intellect and its ability to know our inherent spirituality and then be compassionate is the only superiority of our species and is worth retaining. For all non-proselytizing traditions the effect has been disastrous! Unfortunately it continues unabated — but some voices are rising and must rise louder each day in great numbers before all humanity is free from the tyranny of a few. Contrary to the view held by certain traditions, in Hinduism all pursuits of life are to gain self-knowledge. The *Gītā* in the fourth chapter says:

na hi jñānena sadṛṣam pavitram iha vidyate

Nothing liberates, as does knowledge. And then (4.39):

śraddhāvān labhate jñānam: jñānam tatparāḥ sāmyatendriyaḥ ।
jñānena labdhavā parām śāntim acirenā adhigacchati ॥

Ones who *steadfastly* studies the *śāstra* with a qualified *guru*, who are *committed* to that (learning) and who are *masters of their senses* gain the knowledge. Having gained the knowledge, absolute Peace is the immediate result. Quite different from the other view!

Again, the concept of devil is absent in core Hinduism. Contrary to common confusion — we neither have many gods nor one God, rather we have *only God*. We hear it everyday in our *bhajans*, even sing along, *jala men tu thala men tu; sāre jag men tū hi tū*, and then offer no resistance when others come and say that Hindus are polytheistic. Perhaps a foreign language is responsible for such gross allegations against a subtle spiritual tradition that sees no distance between Theo (meaning God) and the *jagat*! How else can there be an *infinite* concept that we call Almighty? God minus even one thing or one individual would be limited not *Infinite*. A famous Vedic prayer goes as follows:

oṁ pūrṇamadaḥ pūrṇamidam pūrṇātpūrṇamudacyate ।
pūrṇasya pūrṇamādāya purṇamevāvaśiṣyate ।
oṁ śāntiḥ śāntiḥ śāntiḥ ॥

From that fullness called *Brahman* comes this apparent creation as fullness, and fullness alone remains. It is said the whole Vedic knowledge can be reconstructed from this one *śloka* if need be. Yet, when an English scholar first encountered it his mind only saw the "prattling of an infantile mind,"in this potent *śloka*. They came to civilize the "uncivilized" — a way to legitimize colonization!

Then, the Hindu *dharma*, on the other hand, sees each individual as divine as the goal of a human existence is to know that divinity. What a difference — there is no "original sin." In thinking with great care and patience, lovingly answering every question, a *guru* removes ignorance to teach an ordinary person to face life fearlessly. A common person begins to see her/his own divinity. Such a person does not contribute to wars and terrorism in the hope of going to heaven later. In comparison, other systems use guilt and fear to keep even a normal mind tied down, living a pitiful existence of perpetual depression and exploitation of fellow men. Glaringly different from the Vedic thought of *karma*, where a responsible, duty bound life is the foundation of a society. Only through personal effort, sacrifice, compassion and lifelong learning, one can realize the unity with *brahman* — the one Absolute reality, which is also our own reality.

Islamic and Jewish religions hold similar views as Christianity, as they share a common origin and some common texts. The *Old Testament* is common to all three. Perhaps, geography impacts the thought processes of humanity; harsh natural conditions may have made it difficult to think deeply as the Vedic seers could think, living as they were in a very blessed land with fertile fields and flowing rivers producing abundant food. On one side we have the *dharma*s of the lush forests, on the other — the religions of the harsh desert with perpetual shortage of food and water!

Hindus accept that anyone is free to believe anything as long as it does not trample on other's right to do the same. Take the case of Jews in India. As, traditionally, Jews have not resorted to conversions, for Hindus they do not represent an area of conflict. In fact, in Bhārat the Jews encountered no hostility to their religious practices even though much different from the local Vedic *dharma*s. "They have a marvellous tradition of much religious freedom, unequalled in other parts of the world" (see article, Who Are the Jews of India? Web: www.indiastar.com/wallia28.htm.).

The *dharma*s of India consider conversion to be a *pāpa*, as it disturbs the communities through disrespecting the ancestry of the converted people. Conversion and proselytization reflect the breach of a fundamental Human Right which is the freedom to worship the Maker in anyway suitable to the individual temperament or even not to worship at all if so desired. Almost all conflicts around the world now have a religious component. The Hindu traditions of universal harmony have been under siege for long. Let us look at the following quote that sums up this perpetual effort. Hegel, a writer of German origin wrote in his book, *The Philosophy of History*:

> The people of India have achieved no foreign conquests, but have been on every occasion vanquished themselves. And as in this silent way, Northern India has been a centre of emigration, productive of merely physical diffusion.

Please pay close attention to the foolishness of the writer in the rest of the quote here. After projecting Bhārat inhabited by non-achievers he goes on to say the following:

> India as a Land of Desire forms an essential element in General history. . . . From the most ancient times downwards, all nations have directed their wishes and longings to gain access to the treasures of this land of marvels, the most costly which the earth presents; treasures of nature — pearls, diamonds, perfumes, rose-essences, lions, etc. — as also treasures of wisdom. The ways by which these treasures have passed to the West, has at all times been a matter of World-historical importance, bound up with the fate of nations. Those wishes have been realized; this Land of Desire has been attained; there is scarcely any great nation of the East, nor of the Modern European West, that has not gained for itself a smaller or a larger portion of it.

The plunder is ongoing. Of course, wisdom *per se* is not an object to be taken away, but the unwise attempt, even this, continues in the form of intellectual rights, copyrights and patents for everything that ancient cultures of the world produced. India produced both *material and spiritual* wealth in abundance and would have gladly shared it with all who asked. No credit is given to those who came before to pave the way for the present mode of living. It is like humanity suddenly found itself standing on the tenth step without ever having climbed the first nine, which were built and preserved by earlier efforts of humanity. Apart from being unethical it has also had very negative financial effects on most of the world. It has produced a feeling of antagonism among people of different regions of the world. India, China, Africa, indigenous peoples of Australia, North and South America, Hawaii and many Islands feel cheated and plundered. In fact, they see their own poverty, to a large extent, as resulting form the greed of the West and continuous fighting between the two converting religions. The other side (two organized religions) feel the burden of ancestral guilt, yet continues with the same policies.

Disharmony and destruction of people and places are the outcome of this continuing folly. On one side we hear of Human Rights violations, yet no voices are raised against the deepest hurt caused to the most basic Human Right — the right to worship as desired, without any interference from conniving efforts of the rich and powerful disguised as charitable. At the core a human being is spiritual, when disturbed too much — she/he turns into a religious martyr. Pure fear and selfishness of a few are the cause of destruction of millions. From a Hindu point of view to encroach on an individual's relationship with her/his Maker cannot be considered religious or spiritual. Even those who do not recognize a Maker (atheists) have the right to think so. As long as we interfere with the traditions that people were born into, or have a desire to harvest souls, no harmony is likely — without harmony where is *The Peace*?

Vedic Sanātana Hindu Dharma accommodates all differences in matters of human spirituality. This ability of the Vedic *dharma* of India has allowed a complex and multi-cultural society to remain intact in spite of every attempt to break it apart. To keep some semblance of accord in our New World situation, where nearly every country is multi-cultural in varying degrees, a methodology of compromise and acceptance will have to emerge. The two converting religions will have to come to terms with each other and with all others.

Most humans have a need for an absolute, unconditional power that can be seen as a protector; when that concept is attacked, a great disservice to society is done. The effect of fanaticism in religion spills into general societal behaviour as our childhood lessons are learnt within the framework of the respective religions. How we behave as members of the world community, our sense of responsibility towards family, work and, most of all, how we handle life in general all are affected by the tradition we are born and grow up in. Accommodation, tolerance and co-existence are the result of living with such values within the family first. An example of this phenomenon from the Western world is: work ethics, which is very well stressed (often called the Calvinistic work Ethics), whereas family values are quite bad, as individual independence is considered more important. For the *dharma*-based traditions an individual is simply part of a larger group, society continues even when the individual is gone. So each culture has its strong points and right to stress what works for that particular group at a place and time. Globalization should not lead us to adopt the worst of each other or that, which is not suitable, given the temperaments of each group. Often the rich nations have tried to impose their ways on all other peoples of the world. The indigenous cultures have suffered immensely and much turmoil has been caused, increasing the level of unhappiness on this interdependent planet — Earth, our one home. Hindu society tried to give every section a level of freedom to live their special way within the larger ethos of Bhāratīyapan (Indianness or Hindutva). The attempt was not to make a creamed soup where no differences are visible, rather Hindu society envisioned a soup held together by a common broth (liquid) where groups could have an identity, yet be part of the *whole.*

Some comfort is to be found in the word, "universe" as opposed to a *twinverse* or a *multiverse.* It seems the human race has an underlying feeling for the fact that there is one interconnected, interrelated manifestation in which the human race exists, along with innumerable other species — some sentient, some insentient. In this universe multiple systems exist — must exist, even stars and galaxies come and go. Advances in the field of Quantum Physics now confirm this infinite, interrelated and interdependent existence of our universe. However, this information known to persons within academia is completely unknown to the masses. Vedānta, on the other hand was able to disseminate this subtle discovery, many millennia ago to a very large section of the world population. The process of Indianization (influence without force) in much of Asia was a result of discoveries based on the knowledge that was really no less important than what the West claims now. Such influence has been termed, *Soft Power* (voluntarily adopted) as opposed to *hard power* through economic and military means) by one Joseph Nye. He goes on to say that *soft power* is just as important as *hard power* in influencing others. Bhārat has exerted a lot of *soft power* all through the long history of humanity. At the present time this is obvious in the more open societies of the Western countries, Japan, Russia and to some extent in the more closed societies of Islamic countries, which exhibit less fundamentalist control. This is so because the Hindu culture is *hitaiṣī* (beneficial) to a human being, devoid of dogma, canons, creeds and fear. It exerts its influence through its performing arts — music, dance, *nāṭaka* as well as disciplines such as *yoga, dhyānam,* etc. Hindu *saṁskṛti* is one of joy and its goal is to set an individual free — free from all fear and helping to achieve a peaceful mind. As is obvious it does not teach violence but dialogue. However Hindus know that at times destruction is stopped by destruction alone. So even though considered the last resort, force may have to be used for saving *dharma* (the proper human action good for the human family). That is the message of the *Gītā.*

To conclude, we can summarize thus: The Vedic Sanātana Hindu *dharma* has ability to dialogue with traditions that differ. Disagreements over details are expected and allowed to exist but can be debated without killing each other. Without this humanity remains uncivilized, no matter what claims to the contrary are made!

Hindus have continued to give sanctuary to all persecuted people, even those outside the related *dharma* based religions. However with those who promise heaven and seek to proselytize by unfair means, there is a basic disagreement about the spiritual freedom of an individual. *Hindus understand, not just believe, that one and only one Energy is behind all that is here* — known or unknown, present or potential. This energy also permeates the manifestation called the *brahmāṇḍa* or Universe; it manifests out of and is dissolved into itself, at appropriate times, to begin again and again. Beginnings and dissolutions are a continuous process. There is an absolute, ever-present reality, which is understood only through a study within a system having a methodology of teaching by a *guru* who is firm in the knowledge and belongs to an established lineage. The Vedic Sanātana Hindu tradition when well-understood produces a vision for Humanity unmatched anywhere else. It is based on first learning then doing *vicāra* (discrimination between right and wrong) and *mananam* (assimilation of the knowledge).

The organized religions have not succeeded in producing ethical societies nor a peaceful world. From the point of view of the *dharma*s of Bhārat and all non-proselytizing traditions, interference into other cultures is unacceptable. Respect has to be mutual, a two-way process. Live and let live is the goal to be aspired for in a new spiritual world order.

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27

Principles of Determining the Meaning of Words and Sentences

The Mīmāṁsakas' Perspectives

Daya Shankar Mishra

> If a man with eyes is led by someone else, it means that he does not see with his own eyes.
> — Śabara on *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*, 1.2.31

THE Vedas, the Mīmāṁsakas say, consist of *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas*. *Mantras* are in metre and musical; whereas *Brāhmaṇas* are in prose. The meanings of *Mantras* become clear through proper recitation; while the meanings of some *Brāhmaṇas* are abstruse due to their discursive and incomplete prose passages. The incomprehensibility and abstruseness of *Brāhmaṇas* pose a serious problem to the student of Vedic studies.

The Mīmāṁsakas concentrate on *Brāhmaṇas* because *Brāhmaṇas* instruct us to perform desirable sacrifices daily to achieve spiritual goal of life. They consider Vedic "Sacrifices" as symbols of action that reveal spiritual knowledge. They explain the meanings of these symbols rationally and precisely. While studying *Brāhmaṇas* they confront incomplete injunctive sentences. Since they believe that *Brāhmaṇas* are both knowledge and the valid sources of knowledge, they evolve the specific and general principles of interpretation and apply them to incomplete injunctive sentences to derive rationally constructed meanings.

Mīmāṁsā has two systems: Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā more popularly known as the Vedānta. Efforts are made to show how the Mīmāṁsakas interpret the Vedic sentences that denote *dharma*, "the laws of acts" to be performed daily. I would like to offer here a short background of the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra for the understanding of the prospective readers.

Maharṣi Jaiminī (300 BC) is the pioneer; he has formulated *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*s, rules or aphorisms. *Sūtra*s are, in fact, "statements containing very few words, free from ambiguity, meaningful and far-reaching in their applications." Upavarṣa writes *vṛtti* on Jaiminī's *Sūtras*. A *vṛtti* is "a commentary outlining the substance of a *Sūtra*." Śabarsvāmin (CE 200) makes a comprehensive study of *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*s and writes *bhāṣya* on them. A *bhāṣya* is a learned commentary on an original work. The *bhāṣya, in fact,* is a seminal work; it is referred to by both Gurumata and Bhaṭṭamata, the opinions of two rival schools of the Mīmāṁsakas.

It is to be noted that Prabhākara is called *guru*, the great teacher. His famous commentary *Bṛhatī* is a close investigation of deeper meaning of Śabarasvāmin's *bhāṣya*. His disciple, Śālikanātha, writes a commentary *Ṛjuvimalā* on *Bṛhatī*. Śālikanātha's *Prakaraṇapañcikā* is an independent work; it explains Gurumata, the viewpoints of his teacher, Prabhākara. It is said that Prabhākara's teacher and rival has been Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (CE 700). He has written *vārttika* on Śabarasvāmin's *bhāṣya*. A *vārttika* is, as Rājśekhara says, "an exposition of *ukta* (said), *unukta* (unsaid, extraordinary) and *durukta* (offensive, censorious or difficult) words of a *sūtra*."[1] *Ślokavārttika*, *Tantravārttika* and *Tupṭikā* are the famous works of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. His follower, Pārthasārathī Miśra (CE 1050) popularises *Bhaṭṭamata*, the viewpoints of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, by writing an original work, *Śāstradīpikā*.

Later, when *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*s have been overlooked Laugākṣī Bhāskara (CE 1700) writes *Arthasaṁgraha*. His purpose was to familiarize the persons of average calibre with the subject of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. He has succeeded in his efforts despite the fact that people have lost faith in mechanical and what they think as meaningless sacrifices and rituals.

Ganganatha Jha translates the works of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa into English in the first half of the twentieth century. However, his outstanding work is *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources* (1942). It has attracted the attention of eminent scholars to investigate the *dharma* described in the Veda.

Many modern intellectuals, I must say, have least interest in Vedic rituals and sacrifices; they, however, find the Mimāṁsaka's general principles of interpretation of great help. In his doctoral thesis Pushpanatha Shastri observes:

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[1] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājśekhara tr. into English by Sadhana, New Delhi: D. K. Printworld Publisher, 2000, p. 28.

> As a matter of fact, it is only the principles of interpretation of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā that still continue to attract attention, and this is so because they are in evidence in almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature and are indispensable to the interpretation and proper understanding of many an abstruse and ambiguous text.[2]

The principles of interpretation are also embedded in the commentaries. So a serious and scientific study is needed to examine the validity and relevance of these principles. I shall illustrate the most important principles that help us explain the polysemic Vedic words and contradictory Vedic sentences.

I

The Mīmāṁsakas say that words are given and so are their meanings. Contrary to the belief of the Naiyāyikas they assert that a word denotes *jāti*, class and not an individual. For them the word "cow" primarily means "cowness." We identify an individual cow when we hear a sentence, "Bring a cow" with the help of the general notion of "cowness."

The Mīmāṁsakas are of the view that no Vedic words are meaningless. Every Vedic word, they say, has an inherent power, *śakti*, to signify. It does not mean that any word can express anything. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa says that the word's inherent power of signification is established by convention. This is applicable even to the proper noun in the Veda. For example, the word *Viśvāmitra* denotes "a friend of the world." But this meaning is not commonly accepted. Convention restricts this meaning; so the word "Viśvāmitra" refers to a particular seer of the past.

It is evident that a word has more than one meaning to convey. The question arises: which of them is appropriate? The Mīmāṁsakas offer the following principles:

1. Śabarasvāmin says: What is conveyed is the meaning of the word: *yaḥ pratīyate sa śabdārthaḥ*. Though this rule is simple and natural, it is too wide to accept. It does not explain the word *pūrvo* in the sentence *pūrvo dhāvati*. Here the word *pūrvo* has a twofold meaning: (i) the east direction and (ii) "earlier," the other. The second meaning is not appropriate in this context because it does not agree with the verb *dhāvati* (runs). So Śabarasvāmin's law is modified as "Whatever sense

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[2] Pashupatinatha Shastri, "Preface," *Introduction to the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā*, Varanasi: Chaukhambha; rpt. 1980, p. VII.

is conveyed and is also intended to be conveyed is the real signification of a word."

According to this modified rule, the intention of the speaker/writer decides the meaning of a word. This rule is certainly applicable to a *laukika* word. The question is: Can we apply it to a Vedic word? We know that the Veda is *apauruṣeya*, non-contingent and not composed by a known human being. There is no speaker, no writer. How can we identify the intention?

To the Mīmāṁsakas intention lies in the very injunctive sentences of the Veda; the Vedic sentences are *svataḥ pramāṇa*. To explain this idea the Mīmāṁsakas introduce the doctrine of *bhāvanā*: intention. There are two types of *bhāvanā*. The first is the *śābdibhāvanā*, the word in optative form (*liṅgādiśābdaniṣṭhā*); it expresses an urge, a wish or a desire. The second is *arthibhāvanā*, expression of a purpose. For example, in the injunctive sentence: *yajet svargakāmaḥ*, the word *yajeta* is *śabdibhāvanā* and *svargakāmaḥ*, *arthibhāvanā*. So the intention or *bhāvanā* resides in words or in a group of words and not in the speaker. The Vedic texts are thus free from intentional fallacy.

2. *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* begins with *athāto dharma jijñāsā*. In this sentence, the word *dharma* has two meanings: (i) piety, and (ii) the meaning of the Veda. The second meaning is appropriate in the context. How can we say so?

   The Mīmāṁsakas relate *dharma* to action. The *dharma* of a student is to study the Veda: *svādhyāya*. The meaning of the word *svādhyāya* is to learn the Veda by heart. After learning the Veda by heart one must explore the meaning of the Veda. The study of the Vedas has two purposes: (i) the understanding of the meaning of the Veda: the seen purpose and (ii) achieving heaven, the unseen purpose. Jaiminī says that the seen purpose is to be preferred to the unseen purpose: *labhyamāne phale dṛṣṭe adṛṣṭaparikalpanā*. Laugākṣi Bhāskara affirms that Sāyaṇa has already declared that the *dharma* of a student is to explore the meaning of the Veda; it is his visible purpose.

3. The Mīmāṁsakas believe in the efficacy of the primary meaning, *abhidhā* and advises us to stick to it. However, if the primary meaning is unsuitable in the context, one should, they say, use the power of *lakṣaṇā* to avoid what they call *ānarthakya doṣa*, the allegation of meaninglessness.

The power of *lakṣaṇā* is used to interpret the word *jijñāsā*. The primary meaning of the word *jijñāsā* is "a desire to know." It is unsuitable to the injunction: *jijñāsā kartavyā*. By the power of *lakṣaṇā*, the word *jijñāsā* means investigation. Thus, the first *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* signifies that "after learning the Veda by heart one should investigate the meaning of the Veda."

4. If a word does not make sense it should be divided and pronounced in accordance with *krama method*. One should proceed from the first member — syllable or letter — to the second; then the second is repeated and connected with the third and so on. In the injunctive sentences of the Veda, the recurring word *prakṛti* appears to be unsuitable. To get its proper meaning, we divide it into *pra-kṛ-ti*. We then change its form and read it in the reverse order, *ti*, *kṛ*, *pra*. *Ti* is the older form of *iti*; it means, "that is to say;" *kṛ* stands for "action" and *pra* for "going forward." The word *prakṛti* thus signifies "the action is going forward."

   It is, however, not always necessary to change the form of a word. We may divide a word and read in sequential order. To interpret a word with this method we have to familiarize ourselves with the meaning of each alphabet of Devanāgarī script. In the Veda, *agni* is not used in the sense of Fire. Its meaning is unknown. So we divide the word *agni* into *a*, *gn*, *i*. We know that *a* stands for intellect, *gn* for senses and *i* for mind. The meaning of the word Agni used in the Veda will be "intellect associated with the senses and the mind."

5. In the Vedas, there are certain words of which the meanings are not known even to *abhiyuktas*, the scholars familiar with the Āryan traditions and scriptures and literatures. Take, for example, the words *jarbhari* and *turpherītu*. Such words can be interpreted with the help of *nirukta* and *vyākaraṇa*. *Nirukta* (etymology) is the exposition of meaning of words and *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) is the systematic analysis of the formation of words in a language. Śabarasvāmin affirms that *nigama*, *nirukta* and *vyākaraṇa* enable us to determine the meaning of the roots, suffixes and derivatives: *nigamaniruktavyākaraṇavaśena dhāturtorthaḥ kalpayitavyam*.

   The Mīmāṁsakas are of the opinion that *the usage* is to be preferred to the authority of *smṛti* — *prayogaśca smṛtirbalīyasi*. For example, the Sanskrit word for "cow" is *gau*; literally it means "to move." However, its usage refers to an animal called "cow." So the usage is considered valid. Similarly, the conventional meaning of a word is to be preferred to its etymological meaning. Take, for example, the word *rathakāra*. The etymological meaning of *rathakāra* is the maker of a chariot. In the Veda, however, it is used in its conventional sense. As such it signifies "a person belonging to a mixed class." Furthermore, there are some words borrowed from the language of the *mleccha*s. To interpret these loan words, one should keep in mind the meanings conveyed in their original languages. If the *mleccha*s fail to interpret loan words, only then these words should be referred to *abhiyukta*s or *śiṣṭa*s for interpretation.

II

Mīmāṁsā is called the *vākyaśāstra*, verbal discourse; it deals with *Mantra*s and *Brāhmaṇa*s. *Mantra*s are the Vedic texts of assertion; while *Brāhmaṇa*s refers to *Vidhi* or the Vedic texts of injunction. *Mantra*s are in metre; so it is easy to decide where they end. *Brāhmaṇa*s are in prose (*Yaju*s and *Nigada*); they run on and on. It is difficult to ascertain where they end. Jaiminī lays down the following principle to decide the point where a particular initial *Brāhamaṇa* terminates and to determine the meanings of Vedic sentences:

1. The Principle of syntactic unit — *ekavākyādhikaraṇa*

   Jaiminī defines a sentence as "a group of words serving a single purpose provided separate words are found to have *ākāṅkṣā*, mutual expectancy." A single purpose is the prerequisite for a sentence — *arthaikatvād ekaṁ vākyaṁ*. Ganganatha Jha explains the *arthaikatva* as follows: "So long as a single purpose is served by a number of words, which, on being separated, are found to be wanting and incapable of affecting the said purpose, they form one syntactical unit — one complete *Yajus Mantra*."[3]

   Śabarasvāmin accepts Jaiminī's definition of *arthaikatva* and says that it is applicable only to the Vedic *mantra*. Kumārila differs from Śabarasvāmin. For him, "a single idea" is necessary for *arthaikatva* and asserts that the concept of *arthaikatva* is applicable to both the Vedic and the ordinary sentences. "It must be concluded," says

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[3] Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources*, Benares Hindu University, 1942, p. 189.

Kumārila, "that those words on hearing which we are clearly cognisant of a single idea must be regarded as one sentence . . . either ordinary or of the *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*."[4]

2. Principle of syntactical split — *vākyabheda*

   Jaiminī's *sūtra* says, *sameṣu vākyabhedaḥ syāt*. Ganganath Jha translates this *sūtra* into English, as "when the sentences are equally independent of one another they should be treated as distinct sentences." Take, for example, the following *mantra*:

   āyuryajñena kalptaṁ, prāṇo yajñena kalptaṁ

   There are two independent sentences; so it is the example of *vākyabheda*. Here the question arises: Are the two sentences to be taken as one sentence? Or are they two distinct and independent sentences? Following the principle of *vākyabheda* we can say that they are two separate sentences.

3. Principle of Elliptical Extension — *anuṣaṅga*

   Jaiminī's *sūtra* says: *anuṣaṅga vākyasamāpti: sarveṣu tulya yogitvāt*. Ganganatha Jha renders it into English as: "Elliptical expression should complete the sentence, as it is equally applicable to all."[5]

   Let us try to understand this principle with an example. Suppose there is an elliptical sentence without some words necessary for syntactic completeness. Suppose the meaning of this sentence is clear by its context. The question arises: should we supply the omitted words before we get the meaning of the sentence? Alternatively, should we supply the general meaning from the context and understand the sentence?

   Prabhākara and his followers prefer the latter to the former; they want us first to supply the necessary omitted meaning because the presence of a word, they say, is not an essential condition for the understanding of the meaning of a sentence. When the omitted meaning is understood, then the omitted words should be supplied. This perception of Prabhākara and his followers is a recognized *arthādhyāhara* view.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[5] Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources*, Benares Hindu University, 1942, p. 193.

Kumārila and his followers do not agree with Prabhākara and his disciples. They insist that omitted words must be first supplied for the verbal comprehension of meaning. For instance, when somebody says, "the door," we have to supply words like "close" or "open" to form a syntactically complete sentence. Similarly, when we read the Vedic injunction *viśvajit yajeta* we have to supply the word *svargakāmaḥ* to fulfil the condition of *ākāṅkṣā*, mutual expectancy and to make a complete sentence. For, verbal comprehension, they say, is possible only from syntactically complete sentences.

Śabarasvāmin says that omitted words or meanings are cognized, through *arthāpatti*, postulation. We presume the meaning when we see or hear someone. For instance, when we see that Devadatta, who is alive, is not at home, we presume that he must be outside. Alternatively, when we hear that Devadatta, who is fat, does not eat during the day, we presume that he might be eating at night. Postulation from what is seen is called *dṛṣtārthāpatti* and the postulation from what is heard is known as *śrutārthāpatti*.

Prabhākara modifies Śabarasvāmin's view and says that *arthāpatti* consists in the postulation of a meaning and not of word. Kumārila, on the contrary, explains *dṛṣṭārthāpatti* and *śrutārthāpatti* in his own way. He defines *dṛṣṭārthāpatti* as a postulation from what is experienced and *śrutārthāpatti* as the postulation of the omitted words.

4. Some *Brāhmaṇa*s have declamatory sentences, *arthavāda* texts. We know that only the injunctive sentences are valid and purposeful. So the question is: Are the declamatory sentences meaningful? The guiding principle is that if a declamatory sentence is related to and aids an injunctive sentence, it is purposeful. Take, for example, the injunctive sentence, "One should sacrifice the white goat to *vāyu*" and the declamatory sentence: "*vāyu* is the fastest Deity." In this case the declamatory sentence praises the act of sacrificing the white goat to Vāyu and so it is purposeful. Murāri Miśra reiterates the principle that justifies the "*arthavāda* text": "What is to be done needs for its own expression the commendation (contained in the declamatory text) as aiding the injunctive word"[6]

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[6] Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources*, Benares Hindu University, 1942, p. 202.

5. The meanings of some injunctive sentences are so difficult that the common men cannot understand them. Take, for example, the sentence: *jyotiṣṭomen svargakāmo yajeta*. The primary meaning of this sentence is "to perform the sacrifice called *jyotiṣṭom* if you desire for heaven." In the sentence the word *svargakāmo* is problematic. Does it mean that the man is going to create or produce heaven? Further, a man completes a sacrifice within a few days; he gets its fruit (heaven) after his death. How can one say that the sacrifice is the means of heaven? The general rule is that the means immediately yields the fruit.

   The answer to the first question is that the performer of the sacrifice does not produce a heaven; it is the *jyotiṣṭom* sacrifice that makes "heaven" available to him. To answer the second question, one has to keep in mind the law of "*apūrva*, the non-existent-before" given by the Mīmāṁsakas. According to the law of *apūrva*, the performance of sacrifice creates a certain power which was not in existence before and which emerges afterward; hence it is *apūrva*; the *apūrva* makes heaven available to the performer of the sacrifice. Professor Gajendragadkar comments:

   > This *apūrva* resides in the performer of the sacrifice till his death and leads him to heaven afterwards. So the proper means of attaining heaven is this *apūrva*. But it is produced by sacrifice. So sacrifice itself is called the means.[7]

III

Ganganatha Jha has shown how *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras* have helped the scholars interpret *Dharmaśāstras*, and Dr. K.L. Sarkar has written a book to illustrate how Mīmāṁsā maxims have influenced the administration of laws in modern courts. Their scholarly works have already established the relevance of *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras* to the comtemporary Indian Society. In addition, I would like to make an observation that *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* is very useful in constructing the signification or the meaning of recent literary text as well. To substantiate my observation, I would like to analyse Gita Mehta's *A River Sūtra* (1993) in terms of *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras* and to make the following observations:

1. "The meaning of the principal word," says *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra*, "enables to understand the rest. . . . All words are directly or indirectly

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[7] A.B. Gajendragadker (ed.), *The Arthasaṁgraha of Laugākṣi Bhāskara*, 1934, p. 95.

connected with the principal word."[8] This is true in case of *A River Sūtra*. In it the principal word is "Narmadā" because all the stories of the novel are related to the exposition of the secrets of Narmadā.

2. For the pilgrims Narmadā is the daughter of Lord Śiva; it purifies the ascetics and the seekers of truth and helps them realize their spiritual and cosmic identity with Śiva — *śivoham*, "I am Śiva." Contrary to the spiritual view, the tribal worships Narmadā as a Goddess that saves them from the effects of snakebites and the criminals take resort to The Immortal residing in the forest of Narmadā. Further, Dr. Mitra says that the etymological meaning of a Narmadā is "a whore" and asserts that "I encounter more interesting patients here than I hope to find in Delhi or Bombay."[9]

   The question arises: what is the intended meaning of the word Narmadā? We may accept the first two meanings because they are justified by the perception of the common people. According to the Mīmāṁsakas, the opinions of the common people should be accepted as valid proofs. But the etymological meaning of the word Narmadā is not tenable because the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* says: "The conventional denotation is more acceptable than its etymological signification."[10]

3. *A River Sūtra* narrates the religious ceremony of renunciation and elaborates the details of the rituals performed on this occasion. To the modern rationalists mechanical rituals and ceremonies appear to be meaningless. However, for the Mīmāṁsakas it is not so. Śabarasvāmin says, "A sacrificial act is to be regarded as primary or independent when a special result is declared as following from it."[11]

   Rituals, say the Mīmāṁsakas, are actions, and actions suggest the purpose of life. The practice of rituals, in fact, provides a context in which one perceives full opportunity to understand the value of action. In the words of Pandit Rajmani:

   > "The true role of rituals is to spiritualize all actions for higher attainment. In short, a ritual is a mental attitude. . . . When we analyse the inner

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[8] *Mīmāṁsā: The Secret of the Sacred Books of The Hindus*, freely tr. into English N.V. Thandani, New Delhi: Bharati Research Institute, 1952, pp. 265.

[9] Gita Mehta, *A River Sūtra*, New Delhi: Viking, 1993, pp. 150-51.

[10] Quoted by Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in Its Sources*, p. 377.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

nature of rituals we realize that these rituals and sacrifices provide training for daily living."[12]

4. The Jain monk tells the narrator that he "has loved just one thing in his life" and leaves him without explaining "what that thing is." The meaning of this sentence is incomprehensible to the highly educated narrator. He goes to Tariq Mia, the *abhiyukta*, the *śiṣṭa*, for explanation. This is what, as we have noted before, the Mīmāṁsakas have advised us to do for the understanding of the incomprehensible Vedic sentences. Tariq Mia explains the narrator that the Jain monk has loved "the secret of heart," "the capacity to love." He narrates the story of Master Mohan to clarify "the ways of human heart."[13]

   Tariq Mia does what the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* has said: "It is natural to narrate the action of some other person"[14] to illustrate the truth of a sentence. Master Mohan suffers the cruelties of his wife and children patiently, loves the blind boy Imrat, teaches him music, takes the record of Imrat's songs to Narmadā as an offering after his death and jumps down out of the train and kills himself on his way back to his family. Tariq Mia concludes that Master Mohan brings an end to his life because he cannot live without "loving" someone.

5. The narrator is surprised to find that the criminals take resort to The Immortal in the Narmadā forest because they believe that The Immortal will protect them from all dangers. One fails to understand why The Immortal protects criminals. However, the real question is: How does one know whether a person is criminal or not? *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* says: "It is necessary to refer to all kinds of action in order to understand their connection with purpose or aim."[15] It implies that the purpose conveyed by all of his actions enables us to judge a man.

   This *sūtra* helps us interpret the character of Rahul Singh in the right perspective. The police force is after Rahul Singh's life because for them Rahul Singh is a hardcore bandit. However, when we examine his actions in totality we find that he is not so. He has been a brave soldier and has proved his valour in two wars against Pakistan. When he returns home from the warfronts, he finds his family murdered by a person who has the protection of local politicians. He seeks justice, but his voice is not heard. When justice is denied to him, he kills his enemy to avenge the murder of his family. Is Rahul Singh a murderer from the moral point of view?

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[12] Pandit Rajmani Tigunail, *Seven Systems of Indian Philosophy*, USA: The Himalaya Institute of Yoga Succeed Philosophy, 1983, p. 188.

[13] *A River Sūtra*, p. 50.

[14] *Mīmāṁsā: The Secret of the Sacred Books of The Hindus*, p. 156.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

True, Rahul Singh kidnaps the innocent (seventeen years old) most beautiful daughter of a courtesan. Yet he cannot be blamed for this action. He considers her as his beloved from time immemorial and kidnaps her to protect her from public humiliation. He begs her forgiveness for his action, does not touch her for a number of days even though she was in his custody, puts up with her worst cruelties and finally risks his life for her. What does his action show? Isn't he a patriot, a dutiful son and a genuine lover? Can't we say that like Mohan Master, he cannot live without "loving"?

6. Every action has a purpose. There are, however, certain actions of which the purpose is not clear. For example, the action of Mohammed Sahib. He is the lover of music; he pays rupees five thousand to hear the songs of the blind boy Imrat. When the boy is singing, he experiences the divine *ānanda*. Yet he strangles the boy to death, for, as he says,

   > Such a voice is not human. . . . What will happen to music if this is the standard by which God judges us?

   Mohammed Sahib strangles the boy because he is selfish though his selfish motive is not explicit. *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* says: "Self-interest is inherent in man; it cannot be seen, it can only be understood".[16]

7. In *A River Sūtra* we find two contradictory perspectives on human life. The first perspective is that one should renounce the world after one has completed his middle life and lives as a *vanapraśi* in the solitude of a forest or at the bank of a river to meditate and achieve self-perfection and fulfilment. The second perspective is to live in the world, and to love, and to serve the suffering humanity. The question arises: between the two, which perspective is to be preferred? It is difficult to decide. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa shows us the way:

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[16] *A River Sūtra*, p. 89.

> When a certain conclusion to the contrary has been set forth in an exceptionally powerful manner, if one proceeds to point out the correct view, this becomes a difficult task. Hence to weaken the contrary view it should be thrown open to doubt.[17]

This is what the writer has done in *A River Sūtra*. He weakens the second perspective by making the narrator say "perhaps destiny had brought me to the bank of Narmadā to understand the world?"

The problem still remains; the *bhāvaka* has to decide at least one perspective for his clear understanding. Who will help him? Perhaps his intelligence may enlighten him. *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* says:

> We have to use our intelligence in interpreting the text if there is a conflict of opinion. Certain ideals have been expressed by means of similes and metaphors.[18]

We know well that Truth is abstract; it is expressed through concrete metaphors. One has to identify key metaphors and interpret them in the context to decide the appropriate perspective. The key metaphors are found in the last sentence of *A River Sūtra*:

> At the bend of the river, the clay lamps were still flickering as the current carried them toward the ocean.[19]

In this sentence, the key metaphors are the clay lamps, the river and the ocean. The clay lamps stand for enlightened individuals; the river indicates *prakṛti* which leads us to *puruṣa*, the Divine symbolized by the ocean. By implication this sentence helps us decide the truth that the ultimate purpose of human life is to realize one's soul, to be one with the Divine and to achieve one's cosmic identity: "*Śivoham*, I am Śiva."

To sum up, the Mīmāṁsakas offer us some important principles of literary criticism, for deciding the meanings of words and sentences and for constructing the signification or the total meaning (*tātparya*) of a discourse. These principles are scientifically formulated, free from intentional fallacy and universal in the sense that they can be applied, as Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has said, to any text: scriptural or secular, ancient or modern. They equip readers, *bhāvakas*, with significant tools to interpret and rewrite, as Barthes has said, a text. Furthermore, the Mīmāṁsakas emphasize the primary meaning and suggest that the secondary meaning should be accepted only when the primary meaning is incomprehensible. The secondary meaning, in their views, resides in the primary meaning itself. A text, therefore, is not open to any interpretation; it is restricted by convention or usage. In brief, the Mīmāṁsakas' concepts of *śabda-pramāṇa* and *svataḥ-pramāṇa* are commendable and very useful to a modern critic of literature.

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[17] *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in Its sources*, p. 375.

[18] *Mīmāṁsā: The Secret of the Sacred Books of the Hindus*, p. 280.

[19] *A River Sūtra*, p. 282.

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28

Ontology of Speech Sounds

Rajnish Kumar Mishra

I

THE centrality of language (*vāk*) in the Indian civilization is discernible in its knowledge systems in philosophy, Tantra/Āgama, literature and literary theories, Vedic studies including the four ancillary disciplines (grammar, phonetics, *Nirukta*/semantic exposition of Vedic words, and prosody), music, and so forth. In this dimension, Indian tradition records a long, rich and continuous tradition of language study and thought. This tradition flows down from the same common source of Āgama and Nigama and when the school of "systemic/logical exposition of experiential or perceived content" (i.e., *darśana*) began to emerge, it, too, acquired its own status as a distinct school of thought.[1] It is important to note that philosophy of language or grammar in India has deep affinity to the Āgamic systems. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is structured around the fundamental Āgamic assumptions. It is "one of the living monuments of human intelligence"[2] not only because of its unique sophistication and precision in illustrating all the intermediate steps of grammatical derivations, but also because of its inherent encyclopaedic nature that stands next only to the *Mahābhārata*. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* inherits and contributes to a "continuous" and "cumulative"[3] tradition of language study. Various streams of thought and culture are embedded in the aphoristic/micro-statements of the text.[4] What is noteworthy in this context but has not been seriously attended to so far is its very conception in the traditions of Śaivāgama.[5] Traditionally too, Pāṇini is believed to belong to the Māheśvara school of the grammarians.[6] Bhagavān Śiva, in His popularly known aesthetic form as Naṭarāja, is the central source of art/dance[7] and knowledge, and is both perceptually and mythically associated with the intuitive perception of speech sounds by His devotee Sage Pāṇini.[8] Moreover, a number of *sūtra*s of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* appear as *Śiva-Sūtras*.[9] From substance to form, i.e., from speech sounds to the grammatically derived morpho-syntactic constructions, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is in full conformity to the central philosophical positions on theory of appearance or realistic idealism (*ābhāsa*),[10] theory of absolute freedom of will (*svātantrya*) and theory of image and counter-image (*bimba-pratibimba*) of Kashmir Śaivism. This branch of Śaiva thought is, perhaps, the only system in which duality and hierarchy of some major linguistic and philosophical binaries, like substance (*dravya*) and form (*rūpa*), deviant appearance (*vivarta*) and resultant (*pariṇāma*), sequence (*krama*) and non-sequence (*akrama*), single and multiple, subtle and gross, etc., can be theoretically synthesized. This deserves a full-fledged study of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from the Āgamic viewpoint.[11]

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[1] Vide Madhvacārya's (fourteenth century) *Sarvadarśanasaṁgrah*. The 13th chapter of this compendium to Indian philosophy deals with the philosophy of Pāṇini.

[2] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 11.

[3] These two key terms are taken from Kapil Kapoor's *Literary Theory: Indian Conceptual Framework*, p. 7.

[4] See Vasudev Sharan Agrawal, *India as Known to Pāṇini*.

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[5] Scholars like Acharya Baladev Upadhyaya, Jayadeva Singh and Paramahans Mishra have indicated in their works regarding the Āgamic sources of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. For example, Acharya Baladev Upadhyaya discusses the Philosophy of Grammar in the chapter on "Śaiva-Śākta and Tantra" and states that Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is accepted as a part of Śaivāgama. See *Bhāratīya Darśana*, p. 483.

[6] Yudhishthir Mimamsaka's *Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa Śāstra Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 31, 34, 88.

[7] Dance is a metaphor of process and constitution of knowledge. It also signifies the manifestation of this constructed world (*prapañcātmaka jagat*). This cosmic dance ensures emancipation from this *prapañca* through knowing/enjoying its "real form."

[8] The verse reads:

nṛttāvasane (also *nṛtyāvasāne*) *naṭarājarājo nanāda dhakkām navapañcavāram* ।
uddhartukāmaḥ sanakādisiddānetadvimarśe śivasūtrajālam ॥

[In the first part of night, at the end of His cosmic dance, Naṭarāja, the King of dancers, played His drum fourteen times and through this, He manifested the system/trap of *Śivasūtra* for Sanaka and other perfect beings/seers who are desirous of attaining liberation. This is the first verse of popularly known as ***Nandikeśvara-Kāśikā***. Nandikeśvara expounds here the ontology of *Śivasūtra* with a slight variation from Kashmir Śaivism, however, well within the Śaiva system. This is an important text, which has been edited in the appendix 2 (pp. 269-75) along with the commentary of Upamanyu by Dr. Shivshankar Awashti in his *Mantra aur Mātṛkāoñ kā Rahasya*.

[9] *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 1.4.54 — *svatantraḥ kartā*.

[10] The English equivalent has been suggested by Prof. K.C. Pandey.

II

Sound is the substance — the primordial energy principle. It is not just physical and manifest, but extremely subtle and transcendental. Even among the five gross elements in the ontology of Indian philosophical systems, ether is the subtlest one and its attribute is sound. The more pervasive the element, the subtle it will be, as a general principle elucidates.[12] So ether permeates everything and so does the sound. This is again evident in the multi-layered semantic content of the term *śabda* as it means sound, phoneme (*prākṛta*/basic and cognitive as well as *vaikṛta*/articulatory variants) word, sentence, language, discourse and above all the Ultimate (*śabda-tattva*). Knowing the essence of *śabda* implies knowing everything, the Ultimate. *Śabda* is Brahma. Each sound is a form, modification and expression of the same primordial energy principle. The Tantra or the Āgamic systems have perceived sound as *mantra* as all the multiple sounds are forms and multi-layered manifestation of the same energy principle.[13]

It is important to note a two-fold debate in *Nirukta*[14] between phoneticians and semanticists (Nairuktas) on the one hand and phoneticians and grammarians on the other.[15] Both *Nirukta* and grammar involve some degree of conventionality in "use" and "form" of language. However, both resolve the problems pertaining to enumerability, variability and temporality in their abstract categories — verbal-nominal root (*dhātu* or *nāma-dhātu*) and *śabda-tattva* respectively. This testifies to the fact that Indian mind has always aspired to transcend the perceptual and conceptual binaries or multiplicity and has perceived a single energy principle, the most pervasive universal category, which is not contradicted by duality or multiplicity and where all the theoretical positions are practically synthesized. Even while expounding difference or multiplicity, the prerequisite is a unified category like Parama-Śiva or Śabda-Brahma.[16] The intellect that perceives or constitutes difference (*bheda buddhi*) has always been evaluated as being of the feeble kind. The evolved or perfect mind always sees unity and harmony among apparently multiple and enumerable world. To quote Ācārya Abhinavaguptapāda, it is just like the view from the top of the mountain — one, simultaneous and undifferentiated.[17]

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[11] This is a research desideratum to study not only Sanskrit grammar but Sanskrit poetics as well in the context of Āgamic works.

[12] Among the 36 ontological principles Śiva-*tattva* is the subtlest, hence the most pervasive one. Earth is the most gross and accordingly this is the most limited one.

[13] This is the common Āgamic assumption of speech sounds:

(i) *sarve mantrātmakā devāḥ sarve mantrāḥ śivātmkāḥ* ।
śivātmakamidam jñātvā śivamevānucintayet ॥

[from *Ruru Āgama*, quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary *Viveka* on *Tantrāloka* I.46.]

(ii) *sarve varṇātmakā mantrāste ca śaktyātmakāḥ priye* ।
śaktistu mātṛkā jñeyā sā ca jñeyā śivātmikā ॥

[*Tantrasadbhāva*, quoted by Naṭanānanda in his commentary *Cidvalli* on Puṇyānanda's *Kāmakalāvilāsaḥ*, verse 11. Also quoted in the introduction of *Mantramahodadhi* by Dr. Sudhakar Malaviya (all the speech sounds are of the nature of *mantra*). *Mantra* is derived from the two verbal roots: *man* and *trai* means to contemplate and to protect or liberate respectively and which together means that contemplation over this principle protects one from transmigratory existence.

[14] Yāska's *Nirukta*, I.18, 19.

Operating with the same conceptual paradigm, phoneticians also build up their own system — the philosophy of speech sound, where sound is not simply an arbitrary or articulatory element, but has its own ontology and epistemology. Unlike the grammarians who are concerned with "form" (morpho-syntactic constructions), phoneticians deal with the substance or sound as substance — the very being of speech. Sound is atomic, the ultimate particle and the most fundamental constituent of the world. This is *śabda-tattva*, the very essence of word, and is non-destructible. This is *AUṀ*[18] or

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[15] This aspect is discussed conclusively at length in Kapil Kapoor's "The Colour of Sounds: Phonetics in Prātiśākhyas and Upaniṣads," (1997, mimeod).

[16] Difference or multiplicity is a matter of perception, i.e., it is often constituted by the knower and by a specific point of view. Indian thinkers have given a precise and comprehensive typology of difference: 1. difference within the self (*svagata*) as among the different branches of the same tree, 2. difference within the class (*sajātīya*) as between black cow and white cow, and 3. difference between the classes (*vijātīya*) as in the case of cow and ox or human being.

[17] *Tantrasāra*, Ch. 6: *na vedyabhedaḥ śikharasthajñānavat*.

[18] *AUṀ* is the paradigm sound. It is an acronym. *A* is the first sound and is articulated from the velum, *U* is articulated from the root of the tongue and *Ṁ* is the last speech sound which is resonant bilabial nasal. This acronym refers to the whole musical scale/range of the manifest speech sounds in human language. These are the three manifest feet of the *praṇava*. Fourth remains hidden or in a sense it is an ultimate experiential content. The Upaniṣadic compositions keep on referring to this central theme.

praṇava. The debate between "form" and "substance" is finally settled in the remarkable synthesis of the two in the statement of Sage Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Both form and substance are immanent (*nitya*).[19] The theory of appearance (*ābhāsa*) expounds it even more powerfully: whatever appears to you and me, in whatsoever form — everything is ***real*** as it is non-different from its sole real substratum.

Here we are not simply discussing the gross physical world — the world of objects. We are discussing the reality of which this manifest world is merely a reflex (*vivarta* in the Grammarians' thought or *ābhāsa* in the Kashmir Śaivism).[20] However, this does not amount to saying that the manifest world is unreal. We are going to take a unique position that accounts for the shared vision of the two schools of philosophers — the grammarians and the seers of the Āgamic systems with specific reference to Kashmir Śaivism and the Śākta Śrīvidyā systems. This shared vision categorically expounds that speech sounds are not just articulatory devices or arbitrary signifiers but are ontological, subtle and the Ultimate. These phonemes are *varṇa* (a matter of visual/colour and aural perception; speech as *paśyantī*), these *varṇa*s are *mantras*, all *mantras* are *tattva*s, all *tattva*s are entwined principle of Śiva and Śakti or *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*.[21] The world is permeated by speech — *vāṅmaya*. It is both *vivarta* and *pariṇāma* of the *vāk* principle.[22] *Vivarta* and *ābhāsa* are epistemic and ontological.

III

The greatest exponent of the Śaiva system, Ācārya Abhinavaguptapāda (tenth century CE), has discussed the ontology of the speech sounds in the third chapter of *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*. This chapter is designated as the *śāmbhavopāya*,[23] an effort or a way to establish the non-duality between the various oppositions and binaries. In the Śaiva terminology, it is a state of

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19. *Mahābhāṣya*, Pasapaśāhnika.
20. Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadīya* I.1, and Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, Ch.3.
21. *Varivasyārahasyam*, 2.68: *ṣaṭtriṁśattattvarūpāsmānmātrayāpi na bhiddyate*. [Also quoted in *Kāmakalāvilāsa*, p. 62.] See also endnote no.12.
22. *Vākyapadīya*, I.1, I.120. *Ṛgveda*, Vāksūkta 10.125. Verses ascribed to the Sage Dīrghatama. There is also a *śruti*: *vāgeva viśvā bhuvanāni jajñe*.
23. The Śaiva system provides the typology of *upāya* as *anupāya* and *sopāya*. Under the category *sopāya* there are three: *śāmbhava*, *śākta* and *āṇava*. *Śāmbhava* is non-dualistic experience and is predominated by power of will, i.e., the level of Sadāśiva in the Śaiva ontology.

non-difference or complete identity between image (*bimba*) and counter-image (*pratibimba*), vowel (*svara*) and consonants (*vyañjana*), Śiva and Śakti, *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, Sūrya (sun) and Soma (moon), *mahāsṛṣṭi* and *mitsṛṣṭi* and *bīja* and *yoni*. At this stage there is, too, a complete identity between the speech sounds and the thirty-six ontological elements or the category of appearance (*ābhāsa*). This state is marked by the will power (*icchā śakti*) of the Ultimate Self. This is the projection of the absolute free will of the Supreme Consciousness. Ācārya Abhinavagupta states that the whole world is merely a reflection in the ether of consciousness (*bodha gagana*). He defines counter-image (*pratibimba*) as that which is differential, non-potential or dependent and always manifests with the help of others like the reflection of face in the mirror.[24] It is identical with the mirror but always appears different and opposite to it. Purity and light are the two conditions for the mirror to receive reflection. Moreover, the mirror cannot receive all the aspects of an entity. It can only reflect "form" (this includes all the visual aspects like colour, etc.) not weight. So purity of an entity is technically defined as its potential to manifest or reflect single or multiple aspects of the Ultimate Self. Ether can reflect sound, tongue can receive only taste and so is the case with the rest of the elements. So the whole world is just a reflection, a *pratibimba*. But it triggers a set of enquires:

(i) If the whole world is a counter-image, then what/where is its image?
(ii) Can there be a counter-image without an image?
(iii) What is the relationship that holds between image and counter-image? Is this the relationship of cause and effect or producer and produced or identical or differential?

To respond to the first question, we need to bring in the concept of image. The proposed definition must illustrate how the world is not an image. Abhinavagupta defines image[25] as that which is

(i) not mixed up with any other entity whether it is of the same class or of the other classes,
(ii) not dependent (*svatantra*), it exists on its own, and
(iii) manifest or cognized uninterruptedly (not intermittently).

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[24] *Tantrasāra*, Ch. 3. *sarvamidaṁ bhāvavrātaṁ bodhagagane pratibimbamātram . . . idam hi prabimbaasya lakṣaṇam — yat bhedena bhāsitam aśaktam anyvyāmiśratvenaiva bhāti tat pratibimbam*. *Tantrāloka* 3.57, 59.

[25] *Tantrāloka*, 3.53: *anyāmiśram savatantram sadbhāsamānam mukham yathā*.

None of the above conditions is applicable in the case of the world. A careful examination of this phenomenon establishes that worldly categories are often overlapping within the class and also between the classes. Jayaratha referring to the Śaiva ontology states that in every element rest of all the elements are present.[26] They are dependent on other categories or sources and their realization depends on the consciousness or the conscious knower. These are the characteristics of a counter-image. Everything reflects in the mirror of universal consciousness (Paramsaṁvit or Parama-Śiva).[27] So image is not a necessary condition for the counter-image. Paramsaṁvit, with its power of absolute will project the world on the canvas of its own Self.[28] Jayaratha categorically states that there is no existence of physical or experiential objects like blue or yellow, pleasure or pain. That which is itself non-existential cannot produce other existential objects.[29] So if everything is of the nature of cognition then it is only a reflection or counter-image in which the presence of an image is not a precondition. Even if someone insists on calling the world an image, then let him/her call it so. This does not cause any contradiction in the thesis. The only precaution is that it should not be discussed on the pretext of the bondage of cause and effect relationship as it harms absolute independence of the Supreme Self.

With regard to the third question listed above the following points deserve consideration:

(i) The substratum (mirror or consciousness) never gives up its own nature. The mirror reflects so many objects but does not get affected by any. It does not become impure or many while holding the images of impure or many objects. Similarly, the Cosmic Consciousness does not lose Its integrity and purity while manifesting the world.[30]

As the great woman saint poet of twelfth-century Karnataka, Akkamahādevī, put it:

> Who poured sour juices
> into lemons and mangoes?

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26. *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) 3.46 : *ekaikasyāpi tattvasya ṣaṭtriṁśattattvarūpatā.*
27. *Tantrāloka* 3.44-46.
28. Kṣemarāja's *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, 1 and 2: *citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetu; svecchayā svabhittau viśvamunmīlayati.*
29. *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) on 3.49. Also in *Yoginīhṛdayaṁ* 2.34-35.
30. *Tantrāloka* 3.4, 54.

And sweet juices
into sugarcane, plantains and coconut?
And rice juices
into *kalave* and *shalige*?
In summary,
The earth is one and the same
And so are water and sky
Just as the same water
Combining with different substances
Becomes different,
My Lord **Channamallikārjuna**,
Combines as he does with so many worlds and sub-worlds
Always stays
Himself, different and same.[31]

(ii) The object in reflection has similarity with the actual object. It is never congruent with the actual object. In the same way, the world is similar to the Supreme Consciousness (not same) but appears objectively different from It. If it is relationship of causality then we must hold the cause (image) and the effect (counter-image) exist simultaneously — face to face. If it is a relationship of producer and produced (*janaka-janya*) then it is in the sense of what Pāṇini states: The source of the verb ***bhū***, to become, is called ablation (*apādāna*).[32] The flow of the Ganges itself is the sound evidence that it is perennially rooted in the Himālayas. If it is the relationship of locus and located then it is like the canvas that holds the picture. The canvas goes deep in oblivion and the picture becomes the object of sophisticated philosophical enquiry and debate.

(iii) We may yet observe that counter-image is opposite (*patīpa*) to the image. We shall explain the logic and insight of this opposite in the next section.

IV

The Śaiva-Śākta ontology enumerates thirty-six elements or the basic constituents of the universe.[33] But it is important to remind ourselves that we are not involved in the explanation of the enumerable world only. This may be of secondary interest. This is the immanent (*viśvamaya*) aspect of the Ultimate Self. There still remains Its non-enumerable and inexplicable aspect, i.e., transcendental (*viśvottīrṇa*) aspect. There is an element, say 37th element as per the numerical convention,[34] designated as *anuttara* (Abhinavagupta provides sixteen interpretations of this term)[35] Parama-Śiva or Tattvātīta, i.e., beyond all the categories/principles/elements/appearances/reflections. As we have recorded above, these thirty-six elements are illuminated. They are illuminated in the all-pervasive illuminator Parama-Śiva who is of the nature of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* (the aspect of consciousness and free will that significantly differentiates Parama-Śiva from the object like mirror). Mirror has the ability to reflect but for this function it depends on purity of the surface, light and also on the objects that essentially have "forms."[36] It would be a wrong assumption that any of the efforts (*upāya*) ensures knowledge and final liberation. Abhinavagupta cautions at the very outset: no network of efforts results in the attainment of Śiva. Even thousands of pitchers cannot illumine the sun.[37] These efforts may cause bondage as they may emanate from the limited knower, technically known as *sakala pramātā*.[38] So their whole merit lies in realization of these ontological elements (categories of *ābhāsa*) as illuminations/manifestation of the Ultimate Self and not the vice-versa. That is why *anupāya* (little or no effort) is considered the highest form of means and process in the attainment of the Ultimate Self.[39] Even at this stage of complete non-duality the individual being seeks grace and blessing. One may simply see the element of profound *bhakti* (devotion) in this system that found one of the best expressions in the devotional hymns of Ācārya Śaṅkara, Ācārya Utpaladeva and Ācārya Abhinavagupta. Like the Indian society, Indian systems of ritual and meditation remained chiefly "duty-bound," which may sound strange to the "right-obsessed" modern societies.

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[31] English translation by the noted Kannaḍa playwright, critic and Śaiva philosopher Dr. H.S. Shivaprakash. I am grateful to him for many other insights and explanations that are relevant to the present theme.

[32] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.31.

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[33] *Tantrāloka*, ch. 3, *Parātrīśikā, The Ṣaṭtriṁśattattva Sandoha* (with Comm. by Rājānaka Ānanda). *Yoginīhṛdayam* (with commentary by *Dīpikā* thereupon) on 2.33-35. See the various representations of this ontology in the appendices.

[34] Abhinavagupta under the influence of the Kaula system accepts *anuttara* as the 37th element. See *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*.

[35] This has been discussed in an article "*Nirvacana* as Signification: Ācārya Abhinavagupta's Exposition of Anuttara," in *Śabda: Text and Interpretation*, ed. S.K. Sareen and Makarand Paranjape, Delhi: Mantra, 2004.

[36] *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) 3.65.

[37] *Tantrasāra*, Ch.2: *upāyajālam na śivam prakāśayeta.*; *Śivasūtra*, 1.2 and 3.2. *jñānam bandhaḥ.*

[38] *Tantrāloka*, 1.81. Jaidev Singh has recorded the whole typology of knower along with the respective domains of knowledge in his Eng. tr. of *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, p. 130.

[39] This is the main topic of the 2nd chapter of *Tantrāloka*.

So these are thirty-six categories, categories of appearances (*ābhāsa*)[40] and the world, which are real the way they are. The twenty-five categories, from *puruṣa* to *pṛthivī* are same as they are in the Sāṁkhya philosophy. The fifth one is *māyā* though redefined but is also an important aspect of the Vedānta system. Rest of the ten principles are contribution of the Śaiva philosophers to the Indian ontology. Let us note that the Kashmir Śaiva system is the system of knower — from individual limited knower to the universal omniscient knower. So the process of manifestation involves the I-consciousness in the first place, as it is evident from the sequence of manifestation of these ontological categories:

1. ***Śiva***: the first or twin manifestation (always with Śakti principle), pure and subjective I (without 'am'), *ahaṁ* = I; also a *pratyāhāra* (an abbreviated name of set of all the speech sounds from *a* to *h* in the *Māheśvarasūtra*; the *ṁ* aspect is that of Śakti). This level is characterized by the power of consciousness (*cit-śakti*).
2. ***Śakti***: I-awareness (with am; *ahamasmi*); marked by the power of blissfulness (*ānanda-śakti*). Its other names are *citi*, *vimarśa*, *sphurattā*, *svātantrya śakti*, *ullāsa*, etc. The knower of these two basic levels is called Śiva *pramātā*.
3. ***Sadāśiva***: marked by the power of creative will (*icchā-śakti* or *sisṛkṣā*), and the nature of awareness is — I am This (*aham idamasmi*, I > This). This is the first appearance of duality with the self — subjective as well as objective. However, these two aspects are in identical relationship. The knower at this stage is technically known as *mantramaheśvara*.
4. ***Īśvara***: The power of knowledge (*jñāna-śakti*) predominates this level and the knower is called *mantreśa*. As knowledge is never without content, the objective aspect[41] of the Universal Self is more manifest

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[40] Prof. K.C. Pandey translates *ābhāsa* as Realistic Idealism, *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study*, Ch.2. 319.

[41] *Īśvarapratyabhiñjāvimarśinī*, II.191.

here. So the nature of experience is: This I am (*Idamahamasmi*) — I < This Prof. K.C. Pandey explains beautifully: "The difference between the two states of the Universal Self (Sadāśiva and *Īśvara*) may be those of a canvas; the former to the one in which the intended picture is faintly outlined in hardly perceptible dots; and the latter to the other in which the picture is fully drawn. . . ."[42] The picture veils the canvas. The form conceals the substance. The process of manifestation is simultaneously the process of concealment. Creativity is marked for objectivity and perceptibility, however a greater creativity involves dissolution of these two.

5. ***Śuddhavidyā*** **or** ***sadvidyā***: the power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) predominates this level and the nature of experience is: I = This (*aham idam*).[43] It is just like the two pans of evenly held balance (*samadhṛta tulāpuṭa nyāya*). The knower is called *mantra pramātā*.
6. ***Māyā:*** As the objective aspects become more and more manifest in following levels, the Universal Self becomes measurable and henceforth the *māyā-śakti* (derived from the verb root *mā*, means to map, to quantify and also to know but in the sense of limited knowledge) completes the rest of the process. When *māyā-śakti* is at work, a set of transformations takes place: one appears as many, integral as fragmented and differential, simultaneous as continuous or sequential; universal becomes individual (*āmnāya* or enumerable) and subtle becomes gross (the last principle is the gross earth). *Māyā* has five delimiting functions technically named as "five veils" (*pañca kañcuka*) that are following:
7. ***Kalā***: Universal power becomes of limited efficacy.
8. ***Vidyā***: Omniscience is veiled and transformed into limited knowership.
9. ***Rāga:*** Totality (*pūrṇatva*) is concealed and desires caused by incompleteness take over.
10. ***Kāla:*** Omnipresence takes the form of fragmented time as present, past and future. Space also appears as divided in terms of here and there.
11. ***Niyati***: Absolute independence and pervasiveness are now experienced as regulated by the chain of cause and effect.

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[42] *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study*, p. 366.

[43] *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, II.196.

The designation of Being veiled by these above five elements is *puruṣa* (also *aṇu*, micro or limited being) which is the subjective experience of the *sadvidyā tattva*: I am this. The thirteenth element *prakṛti* (also *pradhāna*) is objective manifestation of *kalā*, which is a matrix of objectivity. The three qualities (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) rest here in their equilibrium.[44]

These ontological elements or principles are none other than the same energy principle that is explained through the speech sounds. We must again remind ourselves that we are not discussing a linguistic element and its referent the way we do in modern theoretical and formal semantics. It is not also a case for metaphor. Speech sound is an ontological element. The phonetic alphabet systems are not just based on the matrix of place and manner of articulation, which in itself is a great achievement of the Sanskrit phoneticians. We know that this garland of phonemes (*varṇamālā*) became the basis for the very conception of International Phonetic Alphabet. Still a lot more is there to explore in the various Prātiśakhya and Śikṣā texts and also in the text dealing with Indian prosody and music. All these share the same Āgamic philosophy and paradigm Nāda-Brahma, Śabda-Brahma and Para-Brahma).[45]

The Indian Āgamic traditions perceive two systems of ontological principles realized in speech sounds: *mātṛkā* and Mālinī. *Mātṛkā* is of the nature of *varṇa*.[46] It begins with *a* and ends with *kṣ* and is represented by a *pratyāhāra* [***akṣa***].[47] There is no knowledge other than the *mātṛkā*.[48] All these sounds emanate from *praṇava AUṀ* that is also known as the source of all the energy forms. A tenth-century commentator on *Śivasūtra*, Bhāskarācārya records in his *Vārttika* that these *mātṛkā*s are self-appearances and the power of action of the Ultimate Self.[49] When these sounds are associated with the nasals — the resonating activating features (Śiva-Śakti principles), they acquire the status of the seed-sound (*bīja-akṣara*) and when they get intuitively constituted and realized in a specific sequence they are called *bīja-mantra*. *Mantra* is never formulated. It is intuitively seen or received in its totality and integrity. Hence, the *ṛṣi* is *draṣṭā* — the intuitive seer.[50]

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[44] For detailed representation of these elements see appendices.

[45] *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Sāraṅgadev Chapters 2 and 3.

[46] *Lalitāsahasranāma*, verse 167: *mātṛkā varṇarūpiṇī.*

[47] Quoted vide *Parātriśīkā* by Dr. Shivshankar Awasthi, p. 86:

akāraḥ prathama devi kṣkārontyastataḥ param ।
akṣamāleti vikhyātā mātṛkāvarṇarūpiṇī ॥

[48] *Svacchandatantra*, 11.199: *na vidyā mātṛkāparā. Śivasūtra*, 1.4: *jñānādhiṣṭhāna mātṛkā.* Jayadev Singh comments on this *sūtra*: The *ka* suffix in Sanskrit denotes the idea that the thing to which this suffix is added is unknown or un-understood. Hence, *mātṛkā* means the mother who is not properly known or understood. Mātṛkā is the subtle form of gross speech. The letter and their ultimate essential nature are known Mātṛkā. When unknown, the Mātṛkā impels people towards all kinds of worldly activities and feelings. When the Mātṛkā is known, i.e., when her saving power is realized, she leads one to liberation (p. 26).

Mālinī has a specific order. It begins with *na* and ends with *ph*. In substance it is not different from that of the *mātṛkā* order.[51] It is called Mālinī because it embraces and manifests the whole world.[52]

We here enumerate the arrangements in these two systems.

Mātṛkā

All the vowels from *a* to *ḥ* known as *bīja* or *sūryātmaka* (of the nature of the sun — the illuminator) *varṇa* are pervaded by the principle — Śiva-*tattva*. The vowels represent the transcendental aspect (*viśvottīrṇa*) of the Universal Self.

Rest of them are called *yoni* or *somātmaka* (of the nature of moon — the illumined).[53] The consonants represent the immanent aspect (*viśvamaya*) of the Universal Self.

Varṇa (Speech Sounds)	*Ontological Elements*	*Varṇa (Colours)*[54]
a	Śiva	golden
ā	——	white
i	——	yellow
ī	——	white
u, ū	——	black
ṛ, ṛī	——	red
lṛ, lṛī	——	yellowish (*puṣpa rāga*)
e	——	black

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[49] *Śivasūtravārttika*, Ch. 2.

[50] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.2.7.

[51] *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.36, 4.11, 14.

[52] *Tantrāloka*, 3.232-233. See also *Parātrīśikā*.

[53] *Tantrāloka*, 3.10-12.

[54] The description of colour is based on *Śāradātilakatantra*. *Kāmadhenutantra* also lists different colours assigned to the speech sounds.

ai	——	white (*nava kunda*)
o	——	yellow
au	——	colour of heated gold
aṁ	——	red (*nava kumkuma*)
aḥ	——	—————————
1. *ka*	Śakti	red (*nava kumkuma*)
2. *kha*	Sadāśiva	black
3. *ga*	*Iśvara*	red (*aruṇa*)
4. *gha*	Śuddhavidyā	black
5. *ṅa*	Mahāmāyā	black
6. *ca*	Māyā	white
7. *cha*	Kalā	white
8. *ja*	Vidyā	white
9. *jha*	Rāga	white
10. *ña*	Puruṣa	black
11. *ṭa*	Prakṛti	——
12. *ṭha*	Buddhi	white (*ujjvala*)
13. *ḍa*	Ahaṁkāra	——
14. *ḍha*	Manas	white (*ujjvalakānti*)
15. *ṇa*	Śrotra	——
16. *ta*	Tvak	red (*kumkuma*)
17. *tha*	Cakṣu	yellow
18. *da*	Rasanā	——
19. *dha*	Ghrāṇa	——
20. *na*	Vāk	——
21. *pa*	Upastha	——
22. *pha*	Pāyu	white
23. *ba*	Pāṇī	red (*aruṇa*)
24. *bha*	Pāda	of the colour of smoke
25. *ma*	Śabda	——
26. *ya*	Sparśa	of the colour of smoke
27. *ra*	Rūpa	——
28. *la*	Rasa	saffron (*keśara*)
29. *va*	Gandha	white
30. *śa*	Ākāśa	golden

31. *ṣa*	Vāyu	black
32. *sa*	Agni	white
33. *ha*	Jala	white
34. *kṣa*	Pṛthvī	of the colour of gems (*maṇiprabhā*)

Two important Tantra texts — *Svacchandatantra* and *Yoginīhṛdayam* group these elements into seven and eight respectively and assign specific deity and colour to each of these groups.[55] *Varṇa* means sound and colour and pertains to both — aural as well as visual perceptions. Colour as an epistemic device is also used for the distinctive feature of a sound.

Mālinī

The first sixteen sounds in this order are pervaded by the twin principle of Śiva and Śakti: *na, ṛ, ṛī, lṛ, lṛī, tha, cha, dha, ī, ṇ, u, ū, ba, ka, kha* and *ga*.

1.	*gha*	Sadāśiva
2.	*ṅa*	Īśvara
3.	*ī*	Śuddhavidyā
4.	*a*	Māyā
5.	*va*	Niyati
6.	*bha*	Kāla
7.	*ya*	Rāga
8.	*ḍa*	Vidyā
9.	*ḍha*	Kalā
10.	*ṭha*	Puruṣa
11.	*jha*	Prakṛti
12.	*ña*	Buddhi
13.	*ja*	Ahaṁkāra
14.	*ra*	Mana
15.	*ṭa*	Śrotra
16.	*pa*	Tvak
17.	*cha*	Cakṣu
18.	*la*	Rasanā
19.	*ā*	Ghrāṇa

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[55] *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, 1st chapter also enumerates eight groups of this sound ontology. *Kāmadhenutantra*, *Mātṛkācakraviveka*, *Padārthādarśaṭīkā* on *Śāradātilakam* (of Lakṣamaṇadeśikendra), Lakṣmīdhara's *Candrakalā* on *Subhagodaya*, and Bhāskararāya's *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on *Lalitāsahasranāma* discuss about the colour of these speech sounds.

20.	*sa*	Vāk
21.	*aṣ*	Pāṇī
22.	*ha*	Pāda
23.	*ṣa*	Upastha
24.	*kṣa*	Pāyu
25.	*ma*	Śabda
26.	*śa*	Sparśa
27.	*aṁ*	Rūpa
28.	*ta*	Rasa
29.	*e*	Gandha
30.	*ai*	Ākāśa
31.	*o*	Vāyu
32.	*ou*	Teja
33.	*da*	Jala
34.	*pha*	Pṛthivī

These thirty-six (including *a* and *visarga aḥ*) phonemes are the creative power of universe. Language has always been a creative/constructive principle and not merely a representational system in the Āgamic systems. This aspect or level is technically called the ***parā vāk*** and the process of manifestation is known as the principle of emanation of speech sounds (*varṇodaya*). It is again important to note that we are not discussing mutually exclusive categories. Each element manifests primarily its own form while containing rest of all the elements.[56] In both these systems the above-mentioned theory of counter-image is at the centre. With reference to the Ultimate Self the sequence of manifestation is from Śiva-*tattva* to *pṛthivī-tattva.* But from the point of view of the knower, rather limited knower, it is the most gross element *pṛthivī* that reflects in his/her cognition. One is the process of manifestation, another is the process of reception and cognition. In both of these processes the Parāsaṁvit remains unaffected and ever-illumined. As it is obvious all these elements are conceived as various parts/aspects of the unmappable single cosmic body, as individual body does share all these elements. It differs only in magnitude and not in kind with the Universal Self. An undercurrent of Indian thought system is: what is there in the cosmos is also in each and every particle. So macro and micro are intimately united and are one. The Universal Self is the sole substratum of both subjectivity and objectivity that result in the binaries like giver and recipient, signifier and signified and image and counter-image.[57] The *vivartas* or distinct forms are realized because of place and time but in every instance they are one with the only real substratum. Hence, the *Vijñānabhairava* clearly states: Wherever the mind finds satisfaction, let it be fixed there, for there itself the nature of supreme bliss will become manifest.[58] There is nothing to give up and nothing to receive at this level. All that is required is to be located in one's own self (*sva+stha=svastha*) and enjoy the blissful world.[59] One question remains to be answered as to why the Supreme Self manifests the world at all. The response from the Śaiva system is overwhelming: First of all it is a redundant question. We do not ask why fire burns or water quenches fire. Manifestation, sustenance, destruction, dissolution and blessings are the five absolutely independent acts of Parama-Śiva. These acts are the very nature of the Supreme Self.[60] The world is not to be read like a "message." It is there as it is.

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[56] *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) on 3.46.

Māheśvarasūtra (*Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*)

The third chapter of *Tantrāloka* (also of the *Tantrasāra*) discusses the ontological basis of *Māheśvarasūtra* or *Śivasūtra*. Like the Mālinī and the Mātṛkā systems, it is also ontological and describes the creative process. If we review the arrangement of speech sounds in the *Māheśvarasūtra* it appears different from both of the systems — Mātṛkā and Mālinī. Should we hold that there is yet another system coming down in the tradition? Does this first originate with Pāṇini or in the school of Grammarians? Abhinavagupta and his commentator Jayaratha do not give any such description or indication. Can we establish the two orders of speech sounds continued in the phonetic traditions of India, i.e., Mātṛkā in Śikṣā and Prātiśakhya texts and Mālinī in the specific order of sounds in the Grammarians schools or the school of Māheśvara and Pāṇini? A different order of speech sounds in these fourteen *sūtras* aligns with the Mālinī system (*bhinnayoni*). There is a decreasing degree of vocalicity in these *sūtra* from *a* to the last voiceless *h*. Tantra is a system of concealment. Manifestation in the form of *tattva* is a process of veiling (*ātmagopana*). The concept of *līlā* (playfulness), so central in Āgama and the devotional poetry of India implies this process. While concealing his/her own true self through his/her absolute free will (*svātantrya*) the deity performs various roles. The Sanskrit term for ontological element *tattva* is grammatically derived in two ways:

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[57] *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam* 3.

[58] *Vijñānabhairava*, 73 (*yatra yatra manastuṣṭiḥ. . .*).

[59] Abhinavagupta, *Anuttarāṣṭikā*: *mā kiñcittyaja mā gṛhāṇa vilasa svastho yathāvasthitaḥ.*

[60] *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*), on 1.1.:

śṛṣṭisaṅhārakartāraṅ vilayasthitikārakaṅ ।
anugrahakaraṅ devam praṇatārtivināśanam ॥

(i) *tat* + *tva* of the nature of That, such-ness.

(ii) verb root *tan* + suffix *kvip*, *tuk*. The verb root *tan* has a wide range of meaning: to conceal, to fill up, to originate, to give form, to create, to spread, to weave, to construct, to continue and so on.

The creative process involves two-fold functions — expression and concealment. Since language is creative and ontological (at its various levels of arrangements and grammatical marking) it also performs the same acts. Language reveals as well as conceals reality. Every expression is concealment (*saṁvṛtti*).[61]

Ācārya Abhinavagupta states that this process of manifestation is not symbolic but real and ontological as it is the very self and nature of Parama-Śiva.[62]

(i) *a*, *i*, *u*, *Ṇ*: *a* is Anuttara (Parama-Śiva), *i* is the free creative will (*icchā*), *u* is manifestation (*unmeṣa*). The first set represents the three most primary vowels in all the human languages. These three vowels constitute the most fundamental statement: The world is the manifestation of the absolute free will (*vimarśa śakti*) of the Universal Self. This is non-different with Him/Her — a kind of counter-image which She has projected on His/Her very Self. *She* constructs the network of the world (*prapañca* — a construct; *vāṅmaya* — permeated by speech) with these three basic vowels. These three are the causes of manifestation of other sounds — vowels and consonants because they are the essence of the *prakāśa* aspects of Parama-Śiva. In the short form (*hrasva*) these are called metaphorically of the nature of sun (*sūrya*). When these three become activated and operational (*vivṛta*-open vowels) by the power of will, knowledge and action of Anuttara, they take their elongated forms: *ā*, *ī* and *ū*. In their long forms they are known as of the nature of moon (*soma*) as they are the manifest sounds illuminated by the three substrate sounds. Till here there is no sign of action.

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[61] A technical term in the Buddhist ontology stands for the reality mediated or conditioned by intellect. Another is the transcendental truth (*pārmārthika satya*), which is inexplicable.

[62] *Tantrasāra*, Ch. 3.:

āmarśaścāyaṅ na sāṅketikaḥ, apitu citsvabhāvatāmātranāntarīyakaḥ paranādagarbha uktaḥ ।
sa ca yāvān viśvavyavsthāpakaḥ parameśvarasya śaktikalāpaḥ tāvantaṅ āmṛśati ॥

(ii) *ṛ, ḷṛ, K*: When the creativity involves action then two more sounds are realised but they are still not overt or articulated — *ṛ* and *ḷṛ*. These are vocalic. These are neither completely will nor action. They are not even like the consonants. They are the source of four sounds that are neither solely vowels nor consonants, i.e., *ṛ, ṛī, ḷṛ, l̄ṛī*. They are neutral sounds as they have the quality of both vowel and consonant. Vide *Mahābhāṣysa,* they are like Narasiṁha — half man and half lion (one of the reincarnations of Viṣṇu. See also below in the next exposition).

(iii) *e, o, Ṅ*: When the elements like *a* and *i* (i.e., *anuttara* and *icchā*) are combined *e* appears. Similarly, *a* and *u*, i.e., *unmeṣa* together form *o*. These are *guṇa* (diphthongs) vowels.[63]

(iv) *ai, au,* C:[64] These two are the *vṛddhi* vowels. Again, when *a* or *ā* (*anuttara* or *ānanda*) are combined with *e* (i.e., a *guṇa* vowel — a conjoined form of *a* and *i* signifying *anuttara* and *icchā*), *ai* is formed. Similarly, *a* or *ā* together with *o* manifest *au*.

These four diphthongs (iii and iv) are the product of power of action, which is characteristic of the fifth ontological category, i.e., *sadvidyā*. Till here, will, knowledge and action manifest in the Supreme Consciousness (*Cit* is always combined with *ānanda-śakti*). The process of projection is yet to begin. So we have sixteen *bīja* vowels: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ḷṛ, ḷṛī, e, ai, o, au, aṁ* and *aḥ*.

(v) and (vi) *ha, ya, va, ra,* Ṭ and *la,* (a) Ṅ: These are classes of the semi-vowels (*anthastha*-internal). They are not independent but various combinations of the three basic vowels and the three powers — *a, i* and *u*.[65] Even among these three *a* (*anuttara*) is the supreme as all the powers like *cit, ānanda, icchā, jñāna* and *kriyā* reside there. As stated in the Āgamas, *anuttara* is immanent as well as transcendent.

Up to this state first eleven principles can be summarised. If we exclude long forms of these vowels we have eleven vowels and diphthongs altogether: *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷṛ, e, ai, o, au, aṁ* and *aḥ*. Rest of the elements are just the projection of objective world with the help of these basic categories that appear differential and multiple. Abhinavagupta[66] derives this whole objective world (twenty-five elements of the Sāṁkhya philosophy) from the three basic vowels:

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[63] Pāṇini 1.1.2. *adeṅ guṇaḥ.*

[64] *Ibid.*, 1.1.1. *vṛddhirādaic.*

[65] See *Tantrasāra*, p.65.

a:	*k*-group (velar sounds)
i:	*c*, *ṭ*, and *t* groups (the whole range of palate, alveolar and dental regions), semi-vowels: *y*, *r* and *l* and three sibilants: *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*.
u:	*p* (bilabials), and the semivowel *va*.

Māheśvarasūtra (Nandikeśvara-Kāśikā)

A slightly variant enumeration of ontological elements is given in the text of *Nandīkeśvara-Kāśikā*, which opens with the frequently quoted verse,[67] which I intend to conclude this study with. The second verse indicates that it is conceived in the tradition of Pāṇini.[68]

(i) *a*, *i*, *u*, *Ṇ*: It is of the nature of Ultimate Brahmā, which is non-qualified and permeates in all the objects (rest of the other sounds). It is of the nature of Universal Consciousness, of the very form of the world, of the nature of light (illuminator of everything), which is *ahaṁ*.[69] Nandikeśvara mentions all the four levels of speech — *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*, which also involve the process of manifestation. "I" is the Universal Knowing Self.

i is the absolutely independent creative will of Parameśvara.

u indicates the all-pervasiveness of Parama-Śiva.

(ii) *ṛ*, *ḷṛ*, *K* : *ṛ* is *ṛta*, the Parameśvara and *ḷṛ* is its *māyā-śakti* or creative/ operational power with which it manifests the world. *Ṛta* is the principle of equipoise. These sounds share the quality of both — vowels and consonants, hence considered as neuter.

It is enlightening to note here that Sanskrit tradition has a unique notion of neuter. It is not devoid of gender or positive or negative aspects (binaries like subjective and objective, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* or even the three qualities *sat*, *rajas* and *tamas*) but a complete balance of the two or many. Brahma, a term in neuter gender, is the sole substratum of all the binary and the multiple world.[70]

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[66] *Ibid.*, Ch. 3.

[67] See endnote 8.

[68] 2nd verse: *pāninyādiṣṭasiddhaye*.

[69] *Ahaṁ* is a *pratyāhāra* formed by Pāṇini 1.1.71.: *ādirantyena sahetā*. This set refers to all the speech sounds ranging from *a* to *h*. The last *m* is a nasal — a resonant sound which is the *śakti* aspect of Parama-Śiva. The world as *vāṅmaya* is created by these speech sounds.

(iii) *e*, *o*, *Ṅ* : *Guṇa* vowels (diphthongs) in *sandhi* — morphophonemic contractions. This indicates the two aspects [*a*+*i* = *e*, *a*+*u*= o] like forms and formlessness are combined together.

(iv) *ai*, *au*, C : These are the *vṛddhi* vowels [*a*/*ā*+*e* = *ai*; *a*/*ā* + *o* = *au*], which signify[71] expansion.[72] This is the principle of expansion of auspicious and blissful world that ensures emancipation to those who know its true self. The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are the power of knowledge to create and expand.

These fourteen vowels (first five short and long vowels + four diphthongs) are fourteen worlds (*bhuvana*)[73] and fourteen circles (*cakra*s). The total number of the *Śivasūtra* also signifies the same.

(v) and (vi) *ha*, *ya*, *va*, *ra*, *Ṭ* and *la*, (a) *Ṇ*: These five semi-vowels are five basic elements: ether, wind, fire, water and earth respectively.

(vii) *ña*, *ma*, *ṅa*, *ṇa*, *na*, *M* : These five nasal sounds are five subtle elements of the five basic gross elements listed above: sound, touch, form, taste (*rasa*) and fragrance.

(viii) and (ix) *jha*, *bha*, *Ñ* and *gha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *Ṣ*: Five voiced aspirates are five organs of actions: tongue (speech), hands, feet, excretory organs and organs of procreation.

(x) *ja*, *ba*, *ga*, *ḍa*, *da*, *Ś*: Five voiced unaspirates are five knowing senses: ear, skin, eye, nostrils and tongue (taste).

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[70] For a brilliant exposition of this aspect of Sanskrit grammar and philosophy see Betty Heimann's "The Significance of Neuter in Sanskrit Grammar" in *Facets of Indian Thought*, pp. 157-68.

[71] See Upamanyu's commentary on the fourth *Śivasūtra*.

[72] Pāṇini 1.1.1.

[73] However *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, 12.13, states:

bhuvanānām na saṅkhyāsti varṇānām sā śatādhikā ।
ekasminnapi sādhye vai lakṣedatrānuṣṅgataḥ ॥

[There is no definite number of the worlds. Sounds are fifty in number. Attainment of one brings everything else intrinsically related to it.). See also *Tantrāloka* 37.33. *Yadyapyanantā bhuvanāvalīyam*.

(xi) *kha, pha, cha, ṭha, tha,* ***ca, ṭa, ta****, V*: Five voiceless aspirates are five types of life breath: *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna* and *samāna.*

(xii) ***ka, pa****, Y*: Five voiceless unaspirates are (typed in bold): — First three are mind, intellect and the form of the self (*ahaṁkāra*) and last two are *puruṣa* and *prakṛti.*

(xiii) *śa, ṣa, sa, R* : These three sibilants are three qualities: *rajas, tamas* and *sattva.*

(xiv) *ha, L* : The last sound, which is in fact, no sound (breathy) is considered beyond all the sounds and ontological elements.[74] *Ahaṁ* (from *a* to *h* along with the nasal (*śakti-tattva*) is the form of the real self (I) as well as the whole cosmos.

The second line of the first verse of *Nandikeśvara-Kāśikā* presents a contrast and unfolds the two aspects of language (*vāk*): *uddhattrukāmaḥ Sanakādisiddhānetadvimarśe śivasūtrajālam.* For the Sages like Sanaka, desirous of liberation, Śiva manifested the trap/system of *Śivasūtra*, i.e., S*he* let them know how S*he* has created this "sound-world." The spatio-temporal setting of dance is also important.[75] This cosmic dance takes place in the ether of *cit* (something more subtle than the gross ether enumerated under the class of five gross elements). Hence the temple of Naṭarāja is called Cidambaram or Cit-sabhā. This ether of *cit* (*cidākāśa* or *daharākāśa*) has its own *śabda* as its inherent quality, i.e., *oṁkāra.* The dance is performed in the first part of night (*pradoṣakāla*). This is the dance of knowledge — knowledge/dance that ensures emancipation.[76] This is the time to realise both the immanent (*viśvamaya*) and transcendental (*viśvottīrṇa*) aspects of Śiva — form and formlessness. The total darkness (17th *kalā* or *amākalā*) is a grand metaphor of the transcendental knowledge and the Cosmic Self.[77] The word *jāla* involves a complex semantics. It connotes trap, net, assemblage, illusion, a construct, magic and more importantly a system. There is a system inherent not only in the articulated speech sounds but also in all the ontological elements. A system is both a means of bondage and emancipation. A river herself creates and carries along her own banks so that it can flow on and attain her goal. Those who know the basic energy principle and ontology inherent in all these speech sounds get liberated. This is the *mantra* aspect of *vāk*. Those who do not know its unity and integrity are trapped in its *prapañca*. *Śabda* is both *tattva* as well as *vivarta*.[78] Ignorance is bondage but vitiated knowledge is also a cause of bondage.[79] Only that which has potential to liberate is knowledge. Śrīkṛṣṇa categorically states: There is nothing that liberates (purifies) like knowledge.[80] Purity is expansion and impurities are the binding elements (*pañca kañcuka* discussed above). Emancipation is complete dissolution of dichotomy between individual body and the Cosmic Body. These sounds constitute the body of the individual *sādhaka* as well as the Universal Self (*nyāsa prakriyā* and association of these speech sounds with individual *cakra*s right from *mūlādhāra* to *sahasrāra*). The individual body is identical with the Cosmic Body and the highest goal is to get established in this identicality.

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[74] *Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) 1.1. *ata eva visargo 'yamavyaktaha-kalātmakam.*

[75] A brilliant exposition of this theme is in "Steps into Darkness: Dance and Knowledge" [mimeod] of Wagish Shukla.

[76] The dance also represents five acts (and five basic elements) of Parama-Śiva.

[77] Jayaratha quotes: *kalā saptadaśī yāsāmṛtākāriṇī. Tantrāloka* (*Viveka*) 1.1.

The metaphor of world as ocean (of suffering) is deep-rooted in the Indian psyche. To complete this metaphorical constitution, net (*jālam*) is indispensable. The net connotes the means to emancipate from the vast ocean of the world. However, this is the grace of Parama-Śiva and no duty or right of an individual can confirm it.

The last *sūtra* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reads: ***a a***.[81] [The open ***a*** now becomes closed].

॥ *tanme manaḥ śivasaṅkalpamastu* ॥

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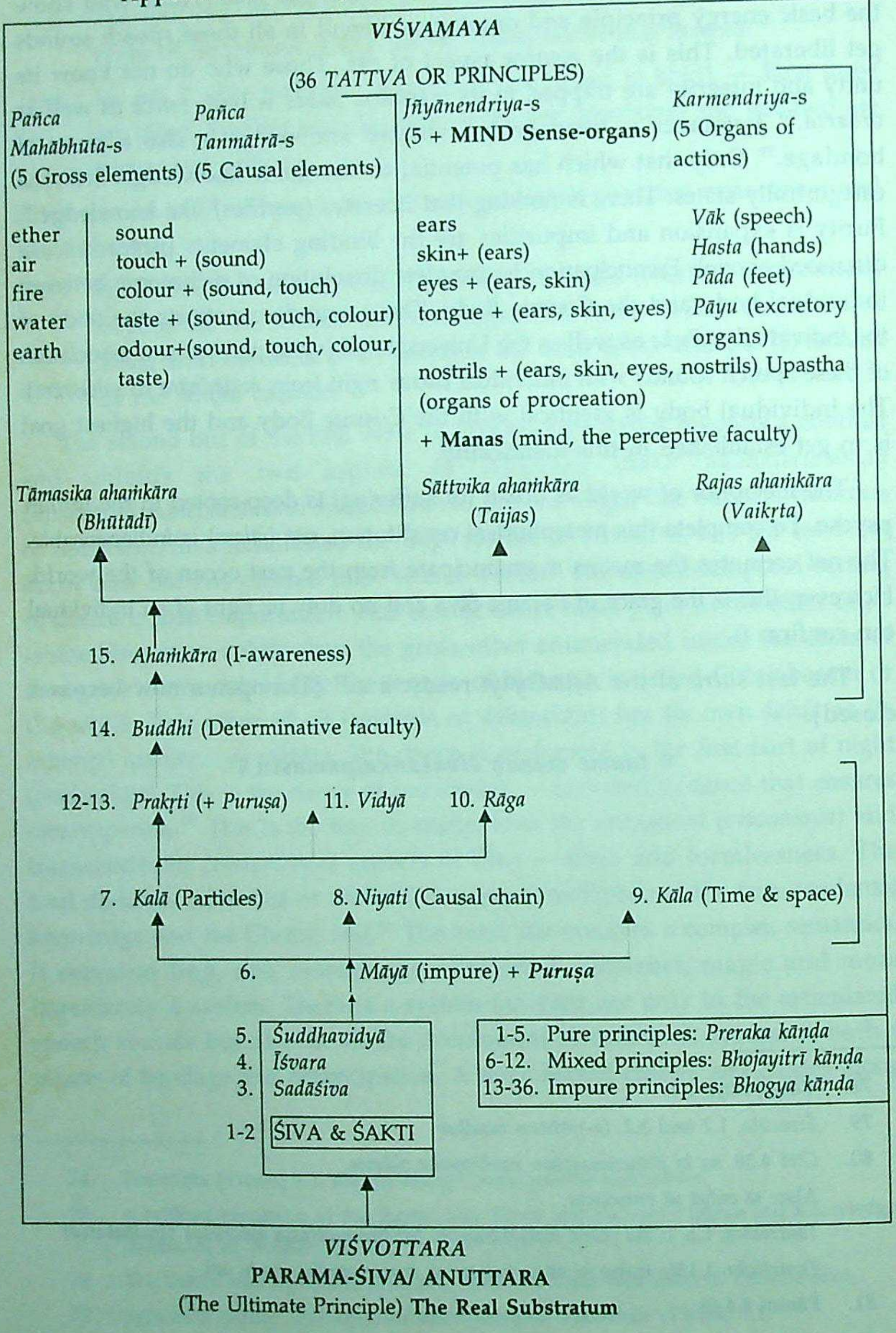
[78] *Vākyapadīya* 1.1.

[79] *Śivasūta*, 1.2 and 3.2. (*a-*)*jñānam bandhaḥ*.

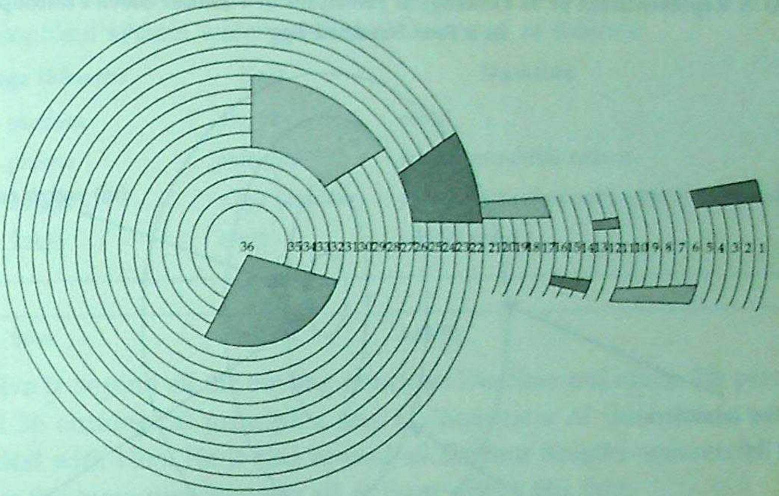
[80] *Gītā* 4.38. *na hi jñānenasadṛśam pavitramiha vidyate*.
Also: *sā vidyā yā vimuktaye*.
Tantrasāra, Ch 1: *iha jñāna mokṣakāraṇaṁ, bandhanimittasya ajñānasya virodhakatvāt*.
Tantrāloka, 1.156: *mokṣo hi nāma naivānyaḥ svarūpaprathanam hi saḥ*.

[81] Pāṇini 8.4.68.

Appendix 1: A Representation of the Śaiva Ontology


VIŚVAMAYA
(36 TATTVA OR PRINCIPLES)
Pañca Mahābhūta-s (5 Gross elements)
Pañca Tanmātrā-s (5 Causal elements)
Jñyānendriya-s (5 + MIND Sense-organs)
Karmendriya-s (5 Organs of actions)
ether
air
fire
water
earth
sound
touch + (sound)
colour + (sound, touch)
taste + (sound, touch, colour)
odour+(sound, touch, colour, taste)
ears
skin+ (ears)
eyes + (ears, skin)
tongue + (ears, skin, eyes)
nostrils + (ears, skin, eyes, nostrils)
Vāk (speech)
Hasta (hands)
Pāda (feet)
Pāyu (excretory organs)
Upastha (organs of procreation)
+ Manas (mind, the perceptive faculty)
Tāmasika ahaṁkāra (Bhūtādī)
Sāttvika ahaṁkāra (Taijas)
Rajas ahaṁkāra (Vaikṛta)
15. Ahaṁkāra (I-awareness)
14. Buddhi (Determinative faculty)
12-13. Prakṛti (+ Puruṣa)
11. Vidyā
10. Rāga
7. Kalā (Particles)
8. Niyati (Causal chain)
9. Kāla (Time & space)
6. Māyā (impure) + Puruṣa
5. Śuddhavidyā
4. Īśvara
3. Sadāśiva
1-2 ŚIVA & ŚAKTI
1-5. Pure principles: Preraka kāṇḍa
6-12. Mixed principles: Bhojayitrī kāṇḍa
13-36. Impure principles: Bhogya kāṇḍa
VIŚVOTTARA
PARAMA-ŚIVA/ ANUTTARA
(The Ultimate Principle) The Real Substratum

Appendix 2



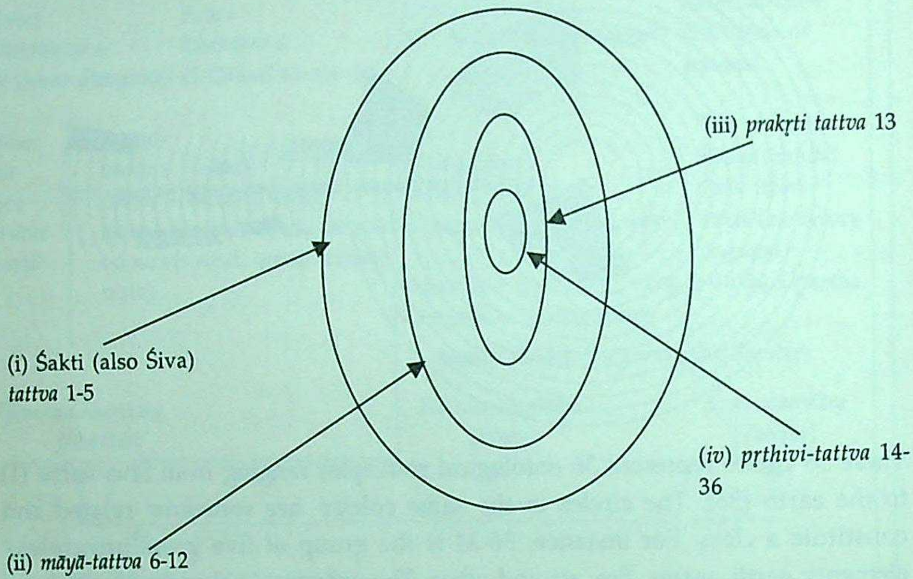
These 36 circles represent 36 ontological principles ranging from Śiva-*tattva* (1) to the earth (36). The circles in the same colour are somehow related and constitute a class. For instance, 36-31 is the group of five gross principles/ elements: earth, water, fire, air and ether. The ordering is also significant here. It is a progression from the most subtle/all-pervasive (the first principle, Śiva-*tattva*) to the most gross/limited and compact (the last principle, earth). However, there is also a thirty-seventh principle, ANUTTARA, which is the sole substratum of all these thirty-six principles and "there is nothing beyond that."

Groups	**Elements/Principles**
1-5	Pure Principles
6-11	Māyā + Five Veils
12-13	Prakṛti + Puruṣa
14-16	Antaḥkaraṇa
17-21	Organs of Action
22-26	Sense Organs
27-31	Subtle Elements
32-36	Gross Elements

This is how the Śaiva philosophers perceive the creation/manifestation and the creative process. Every creative process involves a *krama* (sequence) and *mūrti* (individuation, difference and multiplicity) out of the integral, non-sequential subtle mass. What we call creation is not expansion (that is the state of *pralaya*, complete dissolution) but contrary to the common perception, the extreme and ultimate state of contraction of the Universal Self (Parama-Śiva).

Appendix 3

(A) A Representation of 36 Ontological Principles of Kashmir Śaiva Philosophy as a Four Sheathed Egg


(iii) *prakṛti tattva* 13
(i) Śakti (also Śiva) *tattva* 1-5
(iv) *pṛthivi-tattva* 14-36
(ii) *māyā-tattva* 6-12

aṇḍacatuṣṭaya: the universe in the form of a four sheathed egg which consists of *śakti, māyā, prakṛti and pṛthivī.*

(i) Śakti/Śiva contains everything within, hence is known as *viśvamaya* and *viśvottīrṇa*. Principles 1-5 constitute pure *adhvā/tattva/principles. Īśvara* is the owner of this level. Non-duality of Śiva and Śakti.

(ii) Duality and multiplicity are the characteristics of *māyā* that manifest in the subsequent elements. The owner of this level is *Rudra* (also known as *Gahana*).

(iii) Consists of three qualities — *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*; brings about pleasure and pain to the beings. Viṣṇu is the owner of this sheath. Difference and individuality are the distinctive marks of this level.

(iv) That which takes the physical forms and whose owner is Brahmā; the world: 14 kinds of world have been enumerated in the *Sāṁkhya-Kārikā*, 53. It is important to note that the Śaiva philosophers have taken 25 principles (from *puruṣa* to *pṛthivī*) from the Sāṁkhya system, however, with their own meanings and interpretations.

[*Paramārthasāra* verses 4-5. *Tantrasāra* Ch 10, *Tantrāloka* Ch.11].

(B) Representation of the Four Levels of Creation

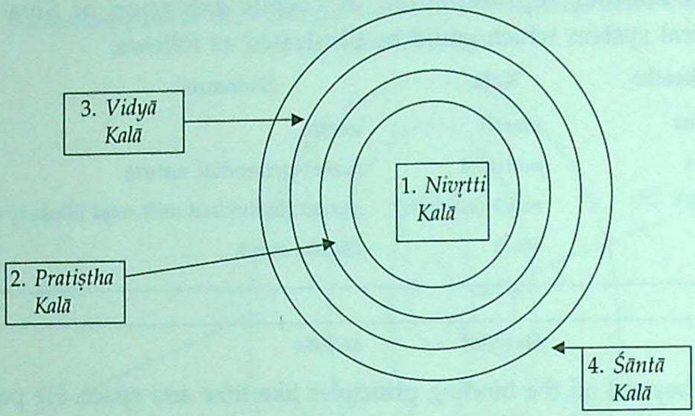
There is another representation of cosmic extension of Śiva in this philosophical system which could be illustrated as follows:

Sarga (Sheath)	**Kalā**	**Domains**
1. *pārthiva*	*nivṛtti*	earth
2. *prākṛta*	*pratiṣṭhā*	water-primodial nature
3. *māyīya*	*vidyā* (*aśuddha*)	*puruṣa* (individual self) *māyā* (illusory existence)
4. Śākta	*śāntā*	*śuddha vidyā*
5. Śiva	*śāntātīta*	*kalātīta*

Śiva is beyond all the binding principles like time and space. He permeates in all 36 ontological principles, and is illuminator of the cosmos which is identical with Him. He is also beyond all the four Sheaths enumerated above and at the same time contains all of them within His fold.

He is all-pervasive. Since Śakti cannot be separated from Śiva, the stage of *śāntātīta* includes both Śiva and Śakti. In the Kaula system Anuttara or Paramaśiva pervades all the 36 ontological principles and it is there that Śakti and Śiva are included under *śāntātīta* or *kalātīta* (beyond *śāntākalā* or beyond all the *kalā*). [*Tantrasāra, Ch.*10].

Appendix 4



This is another way of presenting the Śaiva ontology — 36 principles. *Kalā* literally means *aṁśa* or "part." It refers to the limited agency, creativity and phase of manifestation. It is deeply associated with *varṇodaya* or manifestation of the speech-sound beginning from *a* to *ha* (all the speech sounds in the *Māheśvara-Sūtra*) and in this way ***ahaṁ*** in Sanskrit means: a *pratyāhāra*, a set of Sanskrit speech sound (vide *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇiṇi) and "I." *A* is Anuttara *tattva*, the ultimate abode of all in speech and in reality. The Anuttara *tattva* or Parama-Śiva is called *Śāntātīta* or beyond the fourth *kalā* (*śāntā kalā*). Anuttara is all-pervasive. [*Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, *Tantrāloka* Ch. III, *Tantrasāra* Ch. III.]

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	Title	Author	Commentator	Commentary
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2.	*Tattvasṅgrahaḥ*	Saddyojyoti	Aghoraśiva	*Laghvivivṛtti*
3.	*Tattvatrayanirṇaya*	Saddyojyoti	Aghoraśiva	*Vṛtti*
4.	*Ratnatraya*	Śrīkaṇṭhasūri	Aghoraśiva	*Ullekhinī*
5.	*Bhogakārikā*	Saddyojyoti	Aghoraśiva	*Vṛtti*
6.	*Nādakārikā*	Rāmakaṇṭha	Aghoraśiva	*Vyākhyā*
7.	*Mokṣakārikā*	Saddyojyoti	Rāmakaṇṭha	*Vyākhyā*
8.	*Paramokṣnirāsakārikā*	Saddyojyoti	Rāmakaṇṭha	*Vrtti*

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29

Toward a Theory of Syntax

Bhavatosh IndraGuru

SYNTAX[1] is a determinate conjunction of a necessity to revive the situation of multiple coherence and situated organization in any given cyclical situation, occurring in a sentence. There is a purpose in forming a prior scheme of effective selection while fixing a point of location and non-location in actually conditioned, contemplated and conceived primary models. Words are conjoint in optimum selection and definitely methodise different normative assertions while other models (letters, syllables) differentially activate normal correlations intended in acquiring positional benefits of comprehension. It is systematically functional in constituting an apparatus or set of apparatuses for relatively nearer bases; hence intended objects forming a holistic group δ will have four absolutely cognized proportions X^{I}, X^{II}, X^{III}, X^{IV} and in which multiples of X come to be universally geometrical. The situation favouring a normative development in this direction states a basic proposition, the term of position of the words comprehends conditioned figures, in that the growth of prefixed notion is interlocated in the perceived range. For in an utterance **Red horse is**

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[1] Syntax is essentially a committed restructuring of noteworthy expansion occurring in an identified and designated cyclical situation in a sentence. The exact terms of comprehension project themselves on the level of a holistic group $\sum$ and universal property N with attending ideal sentence types X and Z. Pāṇini suggests a typical and basic situation by putting letters, syllables and words as well to fineness of relational and terminal movement so as to precisely configure the correlation, association and transformation. For example, he speaks of

वृद्धिरादैच ।।1।।

(आ, ऐ and औ are called Vṛddhi)

and

हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ।।7।।

(consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants)

— See Pāṇini *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Vol. I)

running on the road, one can understand the position of operative verb and locative noun to be nominally adjunct creating multiple inversions. Hence δ will have diagonally[2] horizontal placement near the centre of a fine location in the following forms:

$$\delta\begin{pmatrix} X & \\ & X^{I} \end{pmatrix}$$

The terms for above specification could be defined to be as operative verb (running) conditioning the apparatuses of required assertions through a diagonally appropriate formation of a locative noun (Red horse). The point that seems to be most important is how an innovative form is obtained at the expense of a normal movement of a terminal word. The beginning of a complete selection and full-scale assortment are generally made at the point of negotiation available wholly in reversibility. In, Dog fought the handsome cat, the wholesome formations, which time and again reappear, approve a definite function and regular method of cohesion. "Dog" is two times reaffirmed through a sequence of cumulation indicated and obtained in "fought" and "handsome." It is in that way we can ascertain an inclusive graphics suggesting a rate of expansion[3] and rate of growth for a locative verb:

$$\delta\ (X^{I} + X^{II})\ X\ \ (a^{I} + a^{II})\ Z\ (c^{I} + c^{II})$$

δ, X and Z are prefixed points of primacy for any cyclical sequence of verb proposing synthesis at horizontal levels. For example, in utterance **Rain moved the bright Sun** the modification of verb arranges a reappearance in well-defined notations of reversibility (X^{I}, X^{II}, a^{I}, a^{II}, c^{I} and c^{II}) and fulfils a term of comprehension. Pāṇini has suggested that the notational syllable and affirmative letters are at once processed to become either a native noun or native verb. Hence the beginning for a noteworthy conjugation must be made at the behest of normative prefixation. In the above utterance verbs are stationary to the extent of becoming non-null, yet horizontal placement effectively secures an assertive movement. There are, at least, two issues that must be well understood. Syntactical configuration obtains a preliminary ground in constituting scaled derivatives for correlational changes and the purpose that motivates such a concept of occasion multiplies at each normative point. In **Rain moved the bright Sun**, reversal of verbs at proximal and distal locations acquire a native strength in building up noun phrases at immediately preceding events of transformation. Therefore the holistic group ẽ will have to be reinvented in the following forms:

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[2] Necessity to sustain diagonal/horizontal/vertical relationships amongst the words hence ideal sentence types is a primary necessity in elevating a notional category to urgency of combination.

[3] Advancing cumulation in the manner of $\sum N\ (a^{x} + b^{x} + c^{x}\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .)$ and reversible assortment in the manner of $N\begin{bmatrix} a^{x} & c^{x} \\ b^{x} & b^{x'} \end{bmatrix}$ of ideal sentences, opt for the logical methods of coherence. Generation of the cardinal sentences is a theoretical principle associated with this figuration.

$$\delta\ (x^l \leftrightarrow x^l)\ X\ (a^l \leftrightarrow a^l)\ Z\ (b^l \leftrightarrow b^l)$$

Form for a word or group of words is determinate at the commencement of entry into the proposed events of transformation, and a model that has variously opted for inscription at rarefied or non-null locations will eventually come to be forming associations wholly. The grounds of assertion are worth acceptable in as much as nominal separation of noun as noun phrase, is, in ordinary derivational situations, quite obvious. It is to be understood that sequential and cumulative function of a word is to interact formal procedures of enrichment and that is why beginning of a sequential formation is approached at the methodical expansion. Bhartṛhari[4] has proved the point that the phonetic internalization, verbal assortment and cognitive association occasion a suitable simultaneity for the sake of full-scale endings. In **Rider turned west at the sight of chaos**, an extraordinary situation is presumed at the prospect of adverbials obtaining predominant function in having a preposition continuing verbal phrase and noun conforming to the adjectival phrase. The point is methodically proved that a notional category could well be the part of any change function or procedure at any ending. The following term of structural association could now be well adopted to prove the assertion that functional types and terms merit equal approvals in major syntactical interactions:

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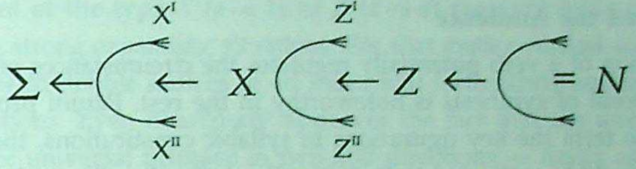
[4] Bhartṛhari, makes a procedural advancement in understanding the whole process of formation of genuine sentences. According to him words are notionally indivisible hence they create universal enrichments in the excellence of combination, association. Even otherwise the primacy of synthesis internalizes the immediacy of transformation in remarkably all possible sorts and kinds. Two phrases of growth of this process have been identified by him are *bhoktā* (भोक्ता) and *bhoktṛ* (भोक्तृ). Second important issue that is due on his thesis is that of simultaneous regeneration of phonetic, verbal and cognitive structures as apparatuses of wholesome figurations. The phonetic configuration of a word indicates a cumulative system of exact transformation. Therefore the appropriateness of phonetic structure is certainly evident in comprehensible terms it develops. See Bharatṛhari *Vākyapadīyam*, vol. I.

एकस्य सर्वबीजस्य यस्य चेयमनेकधा।
भोक्तृभोक्तव्यरूपेण भोगरूपेण च स्थितिः।।4।।

यत्रवाचो निमित्तानि चिह्नानीवाक्षरस्मृतेः।
शब्दपूर्वेण योगेन भासन्ते प्रतिबिम्बवत्।।20।।



It could now be explained that the formation of interacted terminal and linear absolutes in **Rider turned west at the sight of chaos**, is because of repeated revisions through noun purporting verbal phrase and adjectival phrase containing prepositional components. Structures at work opt for recombination at all possible normative positions as could be seen in the above representation. *Z* and *X*, the two designated absolutes containing competing revisions (X^I, X^{II}) and (Z^I, Z^{II}) and holistic group δ is created through a set of branchings arrived at amongst these and in turn universal property *N* conjoins each of these together. There are practically four basic constructions which advance continuity in primary situations:

$$\delta \rightarrow X \; (x^I + x^{II}) \rightarrow N$$

$$\delta \rightarrow Z \; (z^I + z^{II}) \rightarrow N$$

$$\delta \rightarrow X \; (z^I + z^{II}) \rightarrow N$$

In each of these comprehended terms are adjusted and readjusted calling forth obvious combinations to develop infinite sentence[5] types.

II

Primacy of internalization of the primary models (words, letters and syllables) and actually realized models (sentence) into immediate object and a conceived subject presuppose a framework of transformation and synthesis. Bhartṛhari makes mention of the fact that expansion of a notional category is an aspect of cumulation and at the varying points, maximum assertive proposition is extended to be forthcoming, bringing about inherence of universal property. Real power to revive content-specific potential in the parts of a sentence lies with the correlation of genuine contents and genuine context. There is an optimum necessity to put forth an accessible situation to harmonize the native situations, for example, opening verb and terminating noun should have a figural movement through intermediate nominations. Consider, for example the following:

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[5] Functional properties of genuinely assorted sentences are befittingly perfect when a reversible movement is seen from non-null to rarefied situations. Therefore figuration of the sort of $a \leftrightarrow b \; c \leftrightarrow D$ seems to be thoroughly appropriate.

Fear Shocked the Audience

Here inversion of a verb potentially regulates the circumstances of expansion. Hence proposal of synthesis is noteworthy in the rest. Pāṇini proposes a set of models to term the key figurations in syllabic constitutions, therefore, say consonant, could be estimated to be primarily motivating. The point in relation to fore-cited utterance is really how a variable induces changes in continuous growth of the syllabic or latter oriented segment of any sentence. There is yet another situation that calls for attention and that is how the words become simultaneously operative in various notional nominations while inherence is recorded to be ideally native. Bhartṛhari[6] answers the question by systematically proving the point that identified variables cyclically transform all the available unidentified contents, and for that matter utmost freedom is accorded to the word to operate as an indivisible instrument. The case stands to the merit of examination and it is now possible to state that major derivations, intended addition and presumed synthesis are always accorded centrality. It may be significant to suggest conforming models to develop new sentence and for that matter associative conjunctions shall have to be displaced horizontally from the points of beginning. Now universal property N for ideal sentence types X and Z will have multiple sub-divisions in the following manner:

$$\frac{N}{Z} = X \begin{bmatrix} a^{I} & a^{II} \\ b^{I} & b^{II} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{c}^{I} & c^{II} \\ d^{I} & d^{II} \end{bmatrix}$$

It is now seen that the segments bearing horizontal indices include heterogeneous associations causing infinite terminations and endings while segments purporting vertical arrangements situate themselves on a homogeneous scale and external static fixations only. In utterance Dripping water made the air frantic, exclusion and inclusion will observe the same pattern and we will have further possibilities in Purple rain made the sky blue, and

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[6] Conditions favouring movement of a word from proximal to distal locations are quite rightly those that enhance the rate of expansion of figuration. Bhratṛhari, in this regard, has constructed a supremely universal hypothesis of terms and he calls this **SPHOṬA**. See *Vākyapadīyam* (vol. I) Brahmakāṇḍa.

Imminent fire made them fearful. Chomsky[7] has argued that ideal sentences do not confine themselves to the exclusive terminations, rather infinite variations always follow them. The fundamental proposition that sustains the structure and growth of a sentence makes possible the fact that linear arrangement of the type X ($a \rightarrow b$) or Z ($c \rightarrow d$) may not quite convincingly appropriate strong expanding situations. For that matter vertical and horizontal sequences with double indices or an index will forthrightly assume variations in all directions. Even Bhartṛhari[8] approves the fact that the words manifest inherence of universal primacy in two-fold directions — firstly as an obvious strength and secondly as a power acquired through association, combination and correlation.

III

Genuine syntactical expansions commence full-scale nativity in early, middle and final divisions occurring in a given sentence.[9] It is quite interesting to note that continuity of a given positional sequence of preferred categories in a sentence comprise of absolute comprehensible terms. The utterance *Sun appeared in the blue sky*, primarily commits a universal movement equally well in all the lexes. The entry of noun at the centre of a verb and in turn of an adjectival phrase at the site of a verb amends the equable constituents in due proportion. Pāṇini acknowledges the synthesis in relation to the functional letters, supra-functional words and nominally functional syllables. It is in this regard that cases (*kārakas*) and compounds (*samāsa*) are two prime motivations in syntactical construction. Exercise of advancing lexis suggests relational properties of attending rotational categories. Therefore if a noun is participant in the manner of case (*kāraka*) the termination of absolute propriety must be oriented. Constructs of regressions infinitely occasion a series prospective reversibility and normally graduated forms are created. Bhartṛhari's position in this regard is that the proportionally full-scale movements must be accorded to the contents of lexis so that heterogeneous figurations are clearly created. Let us suppose if universal property N has terminal and relation values in the form of a^x, b^x, c^x, d^x, f^x, a consequent series evolving a composite sentence type δN would be definitely obtained in the following manner:

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[7] **Chomsky** has suggested that linear advancement of a progressing word extends a perfect scale of combination to the rest hence sentences are ideally generated. It is a matter of importance as to how very process of generation of the sentences restrict the immediate terms and propagate cumulative terms. It is because of this that figuration of any sort could be presumed. See *Aspects of Theory of Syntax* (1965) and *Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory* (1966).

[8] **Location/Non-location** of the point of comprehension of the terms in a given sentence is accredited to the scale of transformation obtained by the words. Bhartṛhari has presented a graphical scale of the aspect and makes it wholly an aspect of cognition, cognitive universalization and cognitive correlation.

[9] Constituents appropriate for being inducted into the sentence graduate themselves into a distinct pattern of evolution. This pattern is sometimes linear sometimes cyclical. Linear method is one in which reversibility of the contents is only half-way while cyclical mode fixes graphics for reversibility.

$$\sum N\,[a^x + b^x + c^x + d^x + f^x \ldots]$$

In terms of effective interaction within holistic situation, a^x, b^x, c^x and the like would create positive affirmations. For example, **Winding road crippled the rising air** will have changes through relational terms as **Crippled air moved the Winding road and Turning vehicle made the franzied public dance and laugh**. It is, of necessity, a matter of immediacy of constituents that pushes binding activity and a relational movement in participating models with determinacy.

IV

Configuration of an appropriate syntactical situation involves a heterogeneous formation of the universal property N with attendant ideal types X and Y. The purpose of selecting a modal or a non-modal for an effective figuration approves all the contents designated as notional. It is to be understood that diagonal, vertical and horizontal movements occurring in a sentence develop category-specific assortment in relation to the term of comprehension.[10] Constituents appropriate for being inducted into the sentence graduate themselves into a distinct pattern of evolution. This pattern is sometimes linear, sometimes cyclical. Linear pattern is one in which reversibility of the contents is only half-way while cyclical mode fixes graphics for reversibility.

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[10] Continuous reorganization of the words or letters or syllables occasion a specific situation for inter-active reassertion of the terms defined as Centre and Base.

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30

Vākyapadīya

Basic Linguistic Concepts

R.V. Dhongde

VĀKYAPADĪYA of Bhartṛhari, it is held, was composed in the fifth century; Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* dates back to the seventh century BC and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* to the second century BC. Pāṇini and others have given importance to the processes involved in word-formation. The relation between words and their meanings is the major consideration in *Vākyapadīya*.

The Sanskrit grammatical tradition usually refers to the spoken Sanskrit language and for its own reason also to the language used in the Vedas.

The purpose of this paper is to see if we get something which refers to language and to compare the concepts with those used in modern linguistic approaches.

Let us initially understand Bhartṛhari's concepts:

- Bhartṛhari considers the word-form as stable : *Anādinidhānam śabdatattvam brahma* (*asti*), and from this stable word-form one gets a meaning which is fleeting, unstable, not real but a reflection.

  What is real is the sound, the sound-sequence; what is unreal is the meaning, the knowledge about the world that one gets from it.

  What Saussure calls the 'substance' is real; it exists; it is already given.

- Meaning is a class and words indicate a class (*jāti*).

  What one understands from a word say 'cow' is not specific, individual animal but a class of animals. The word 'pot' is stable (*nitya*) as it indicates a class of pots. The meaning is 'potness' which also shows quality, the essence of a class of pots.

  The meaning class is understood by the word-class:

sarvāha arthajāyāha śabdākṛtibandhanāha (*santi*).

The concept of potness is dependent on the word 'pot' which indicates a class of pots.

- The word as a class (*jātirūpa śabda*) is stable (*nitya*). Various persons at various places at different times use the word. Underlying all these exemplifications is the stable word-class. The sequence [pot] remains the same whoever is the speaker.

  The meaning-class (*jātirūpa artha*) is also stable (*nitya*).

  There are two views in the Sanskrit tradition regarding the relation between the word and its meaning, between the signifier and the signified. One is that the relation is 'Sanketic' and the other is that it is permanent *nitya*, stable. Bhartṛhari holds the second view.

  For Peirce a word is a sign; a legisign to be precise. The process of linking the sound sequence [pot] with the object is the interpretant or the meaning of the sign. Within a language this triadic relation is constant (*nitya*). Both Peirce and Bhartṛhari consider language as a sign-system.

- The word and its meaning, the relation between the word and its meaning along with the pragmatic gain in using language, and this gain obtained are discussed by Bhartṛhari. The three are relevant to linguistic considerations. For Bhartṛhari *śabda* is an utterance. It could be a word or a sentence (*vākya*) which contains parts (*pada*). As far as the meaning is concerned *vākya* is indivisible; the *vākya* gives a complete, indivisible meaning.

  A grammarian divides the sentence into constituents and assigns meanings to it. For example, 'went' is divided into 'go' and 'past-tense marker.' Such meanings are imaginary, not real (*apoddhārapadarthā*). Grammatical analysis is a result of a created technique; it is not real. The other type of meaning is the meaning one understands as a whole; it is constant (*sthitalakṣaṇa*).

  Like the structuralists, Bhartṛhari is taking a stand that grammar is a technique. This does not diminish the importance of grammar. In fact, the grammatical processes that are discovered by the grammarian, and that underlie the language use, deserve a place. For Bhartṛhari it is significant because it preserves the purity and propriety (*sādhutva*) of the language.

- Words may be constant (*nitya*) or changeable (*anitya*). That is not a serious matter. Men are born and they die but the human species continues. Similarly language remains as a species. The system remains giving the language permanency (*vyavasthā nityatā*).

  Bhartṛhari is using this argument simply to uphold the utility and importance of grammar.

- There are two kinds of words. One kindles the other and the other is used to carry meaning. Traditional scholars say that Bhartṛhari recognizes two forces: one is the exploding concept (*sphoṭa*) in the mind. This force leads to expression. The expressed word (*vaikhari*) brings meaning.

  Two characteristics are noteworthy. First, meaning is not sequential; it occurs at a time, like an explosion (*sphoṭa*). Therefore it is indivisible. The spoken or heard word is caused by ends in meaning. Scholars call it *madhyamā*.

  Bhartṛhari is probing the psychological background behind language expression and reception. He does not however probe the motivation factor.

  Behaviouristic psychology considers language or rather linguistic expression as a substitute stimulus and substitute response and thereby shows the motivation behind linguistic communication.

- We see a reflection of an object on water. When the water moves, the reflection also moves, though the object is stable. Similarly the sequence of sounds gives us an illusion that the meaning is sequential. It is in the form of an explosion (*sphoṭa*). Expression comes in the form of a sequence of sounds and it is received also as a sequence. This may lead many to believe that meaning also comes as a total.

  Knowledge and the object of knowledge are not different. The word in the mind is in the form of an explosion. It brings the knowledge of the word as a sequence of sounds and then of its meaning.

  In normal circumstances the word is a means of understanding something. That is, knowledge is the target and the word is the means. But the word itself could be a target. For example, in grammar when we discuss a word, we don't discuss the object it indicates; we discuss the word itself.

Bhartṛhari is making a distinction between understanding a word and understanding its meaning.

- Bhartṛhari quotes four posiibilities about the word:

(1) The word cannot be one unique (constant) because it is produced every time when one speaks (*kāryatva nanātvam*). The Naiyāyika hold this view.

(2) The other possibility is that even when the word is produced several times it is one unique (constant) (*kāryatva ekatvam*).

(3) The lamp throws light on things that already exist . . . the word like the lamp, is constant though the entities are several (*nityatva ekatvam*). The Mīmāṁsaka and the Vaiyākaraṇās hold this view.

(4) Its converse is, the word is constant but it is expressed in several forms (*nityatva nānātvam*).

The *Vākyapadīya* often gives an impression that it is a compilation of different views about language and meaning. Bhartṛhari mentions the contesting views without explicitly expressing his stand. For example, he mentions three opinions regarding the relation between *varṇa*, *pada* and *vākya*.

Varṇa is different from *dhvani* (sound or phone). *Dhvani* is real, therefore ephemeral. It makes one aware of *varṇa* which is permanent. *Dhvani* does not create *varṇa*, it suggests *varṇa* (*abhivyañjaka*). *Varṇa* seems to be an abstraction like the phoneme.

One view, which is ascribed to the Mīmāṁsaka, is that even if the *padas* are different, *varṇa* remains the same.

The second view is that if *varṇas* change, the *pada* changes, and if *varṇa* and *pada* changes *vākya* changes. That is, all the three are not stable (*anitya*). This is the view of the Naiyāyika.

The third view, which is held by the Vaiyākaraṇas, holds that the word is not a group of phonemes and that the sentence is not an assemblage of words. Breaking the word into phonemes and the sentence into words is the grammarian's construction. The sentence is indivisible and its meaning is indivisible.

The whole argument again comes down to the concept of permanence (*nityatva*) and temporariness (*anityatva*). The Mīmāṁsaka and the Vaiyākaraṇas consider the phoneme, the word, the sentence stable (*nitya*) and the Naiyāyika consider them as temporary (*anitya*).

Permanency and constituency are the major considerations in all these views.

The meaning is in the form of an explosion (*sphoṭa*). It has no time, no sequence. Sounds are temporary, the meaning is permanent. The temporary sound-form is only a means to carry the permanent word (meaning). Saying the word quietly or slowly does not affect the word-explosion.

Bhartṛhari is equating the word with a concept, an idea; the linguistic sounds of the word are external.

This seperation of the two is found in some modern linguistic approaches, too. "There is a sensory motor-system which is there independently of the language. . . . The bones of the middle ear don't change because of the language (Bhartṛhari takes a reverse position: language doesn't change because of them) . . . and there is some kind of system of thought which is sort of sitting there. This includes what were traditionally called 'common notions' or 'innate ideas'" (Chomsky, 2002). So the constant (*nitya*) word (*śabda*) is there; the transitory sounds are there; the sounds express the concept in the form of an explosion (*sphoṭa*); that is language.

This is just a parallelism; there is no claim that Bhartṛhari was a minimalist. In the minimalist programme, language as an innate system is assumed to have relations with other inner systems such as system of thought, system of computation, etc. What is interesting is Bhartṛhari's conception of word (*śabda*), its indivisible meaning (*akhaṇḍavākyārtha*) as an independent entity and its relation to speech which is simply a means.

How does sound suggest or bear the meaning? Bhartṛhari mentions three opinions:

(1) Just as light and the lighted object are two separate things but light is understood at the time of perceiving the lighted object, word is understood along with the sound. Their knowledge is one.

(2) Sound cannot be understood (*asamvedya*). Its existence causes understanding of the meaning. Meaning is not inferred from sound. The way seeing is related to eyes, knowledge of the word is related to sound.

(3) Sound and explosion (*sphoṭa*) are independent entities. Sound sequence has its purposeful existence; otherwise any sound sequence will give meaning.

Bhartṛhari does not take any stand.

A speaker produces an utterance at a stretch. The listener perceives its parts, he perceives the words but that is his weakness. The utterance is a whole as its meaning is a whole.

Just as when one moves from number one to a larger number, the middle numbers are created but ultimately forgotten; similarly *varṇa*, *pada*, *vākya* are created but forgotten intermediate steps in order to reach the ultimate indivisible meaning.

Sounds suggest (*abhivyañjana*) meaning; they are the means, not parts of meaning.

Specific utterances of different individuals are simply different expressions; what they express already exists. Human cognition is something that is given, already fixed. The externalization in terms of utterances of different individuals are simply indications of the cognition; they are not the integral parts of it.

Bhartṛhari could have explained the differences in what we now call, 'external languages' in the same way.

The *nityatva* hypothesis has interesting implications.

There are only two processes in the world. One is that of producing something (*utpatti*). The earthen pot is made from earth; cloth is produced from cotton. There is a causal relation between the material and the produce.

The other is illumination or expression (*abhivyakti*). Light illuminates the pot.

All knowledge is related to or dependent on word (*sarvam jñānam śabdena . . . bhāṣate*).

Without words, knowledge is of no use as one who gets it cannot express it and others cannot benefit from it.

The word shapes or decides the meaning.

Logicality is the strength of the word. That is, logic is possible because there are words.

Bhartṛhari finally discusses improper or *asādhu* forms. What appears to be an improper form (*asādhu śabda*) of a proper (*sādhu*) one may become proper elsewhere. The form *asva* is improper when compared to the proper form *aśva* but it is a proper form if it means 'pennyless' or poor.

An improper form reminds one of the proper form and thereby becomes meaningful (*arthabodhaka*). That is, a proper form is understood when an improper form is used. Children use many improper forms but the elders understand the proper forms underlying them and thereby understand their meanings.

Sometimes people use and understand only the improper form; they have no knowledge of the proper form. In such cases, the improper form itself conveys the meaning.

Standard language and language-change are the issues discussed here. Language changes; there are variations. Initially variations refer back to the original form. But eventually the original word is forgotten and the changed form itself becomes the norm.

Sanskrit grammatical tradition is aimed at preserving the Sanskrit of the *śiṣṭa*, the cultured in a situation of great linguistic diversity. A language has varieties or dialects and in course of time the dialects become independent languages. Bhartṛhari is aware of this historical change in language.

Part VII
Knowledge Formation, Dissemination and Practice

31

Syncretism in Indian Knowledge Systems

A Case Study of the Durgā-Pūjā

Debasish Chakrabarty

DURGĀ-PŪJĀ had always been a source of intrigue for me. One of my earliest queries, as my parents inform me, was why the Goddess rode a lion and not the Royal Bengal Tiger. As one grew up, the questions increased in complexity, but the essential query remained the same — why Durgā in Bengal, the land of Kālī? It was no wonder then that the search became a life-long passion. It was thanks to the introduction to Indology that one received from one's *gurus* at the Jawaharlal Nehru University that a path was finally visible. The Mother Goddess principle in India defies simplistic explanations. Over the ages, the land and its people have weathered a host of external assaults and influences, and the result has always been in forms of epistemic shifts. Though it will not be possible to trace the development of the Goddess within the scope of this paper, a look at the litany of the Durgā-Pūjā reveals a syncretic past that has become a hallmark of the festival itself. This paper looks at the Purāṇic context and some parts of the litany to try and understand why Durgā-Pūjā has been considered to be equivalent to the major rites like the *aśvamedha* and the *rājasūya yajña* of yore.[1] At the outset, we will try to understand the context of the Bengal Goddess, then a brief section will follow on the premise of the litany, the context in which the Vedic *mantras* and the Tāntric *bījas* harmoniously cohabit and a brief note on the concept of the *bīja-*

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[1] Sri Jayanta Kushari, *purohita* for the Sobhābazār Palace (Radhakanta Deb) *pūjā* says that, "according to tradition Durgā-Pujā has to be performed by one and all. That is why there is a choice of so many *kalpas* (15 days to one day). The worship of Durgā is equated to the *aśvamedha* of *Kaliyuga*." Sri Ram Narayan Bhattacharya, *purohita* for the Sobhābazār Palace (Rajkrishna Deb) equates Durgā-Pujā to the *rājasūya*. Notes of Sobhābāzār Palace Pujas, made on field trips conducted between 1998 and 2000.

mantra. Finally, we see the selection of *mantra*s in the litany and their syncretic assimilation within the domain of the Durgā-Pūjā.

The Purāṇic Context

It is now fairly established that the journey of Hinduism could be broadly divided into four broad stages: the Vedic (from the Ṛgvedic period to that of the latest *Brāhmaṇa* literature), the age of the *mahāpurāṇa*s (during the Gupta empire), the age of the *upapurāṇa*s (twelfth and thirteenth century CE) and finally, the colonial and the post-colonial phase. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the spirit of change is asserted:

> *kālenāgrahaṇaṁ dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nṛpa* ।
> *vyāsa-rūpaṁ ahaṁ kṛtvā saṁhārāmi yuge yuge* ॥[2]

This statement clearly points to the fact that the Purāṇas themselves assert the need for periodic revisions to keep up with social change. The concept of the *upapurāṇa*s and the singular promotion of Goddess worship of various kinds have been studied in great detail by Kunal Chakrabarti. The need for the *upapurāṇa*s, he says, was to enable the brāhmaṇas to gain a foothold in Bengal where Vedic religion had made the least impact. Some of the key features of the *upapurāṇa*s and the political manoeuvres behind them, as evident from the historical vantage point today, will be seen subsequently. But before one delves into history, let us for a brief moment recollect the development of the Goddess herself. We do see traces of her in the *Ṛgveda*. Most certainly, the seed in the form of *Vāgāmbhṛṇi Sūkta* is there. Coburn[3] traces virtually all possible adjectives and forms of the goddess appearing in the *Devī Māhātmya* to the *smṛti* literature, primarily the Vedas and the *Brāhmaṇa*s. And yet, it is only in the first years of the Christian Era that some evidence of her worship is to be found. Considering the fact that archaeologists have piled up a comfortable array of evidence to prove fairly conclusively of goddess worship from the sites of Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappā, and keeping in mind the presence of the goddess in any form (albeit sporadic and decorative) in the Vedas, it is quite surprising that the cult of goddess worship resurfaces in Sanskrit literature after nearly 2000 years. Ingalls is of the opinion that the replacement of the female hierophanies by male ones is not so surprising as it has happened virtually all over the civilized world. In many cases, the embodiments of the goddess disappeared for good. What is more interesting is the reappearance of the mother goddess cult in the case of India. Ingalls goes on to offer, perhaps the most reasonable explanation, of the uneven history of the goddess in early Indian written records. He believes that by and large, Indian culture has shown much more tolerance in religious diversity than Europe or the Middle East. Also, religion was never as strongly politically organized as in the West. It can therefore be assumed that perhaps goddess worship had actually never ceased and that the silence perceived in that period is because of the nature of materials that has come down to us from that period. Virtually all the texts of that period, that we know of, are either in Sanskrit or in related languages, and the worshippers of the goddess were least likely to write in Sanskrit. Thus, the earliest Sanskrit hymns to the goddess are perhaps mere instances of continuation of an old religion and not essentially any innovation. This happens at the conjunction of two historical processes. Sanskrit had become the universal language of letters by the third century CE, and on the other hand pre-Āryan worship systems had spread widely among the Āryans. So, by the third and fourth centuries, goddess worship was as much a part of Hindu written record as the worship of God.[4] Though it has not been proven conclusively whether there was the existence of a supreme goddess in Vedic India, Chakrabarti feels that it is more likely that there were many goddesses sharing similar characteristics, but maintaining different identities. It is also likely that it was perhaps to one of them that the members of a tribe or a given community owed absolute allegiance. He is also quite certain that the concept of *mūlaprakṛti* or *ādyaśakti* (the key principle who subsumes all other goddess principles that we see in the later Purāṇas, primarily the *upapurāṇa*s), that brought these diverse goddesses under one umbrella, was a much later Brāhmaṇical construction.

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[2] "Seeing the Purāṇas in the throes of time, O king, taking the form of Vyāsa I collect them *yuga* after *yuga* [rougly creation after creation]". Trans., Mine, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 53.8-9 cited in Kunal Chakrabarti, *Religious Process: The Pūrāṇas and the Making of the Regional Tradition*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 72. fn. 8

[3] Thomas B. Coburn, *Devī Mahātmya: The Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition*, Delhi: MLBD, 1984.

Many scholars have gone on to conclusively prove or at least posit literary examples and state that the many forms of Durgā that one is aware of today were never even mentioned in the Vedic literature of the *Saṁhitā*s and *Brāhmaṇa*s. Some, like Kosambi, have even tried to trace pre-Āryan roots to some of the goddesses. Citing the example of the "Skanda-Tārakāsūra" episode in the Śalya-Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, which mentions a hundred and ninetytwo mothers who came to the rescue of Skanda, Kosambi says that the goddesses were evidently non-Vedic or they spoke in different languages (Kosambi 1962: 85). None of these female deities had easy access into the Vedic pantheon. For instance, of all the forms of Durgā, mentioned in the later Purāṇas, it is only Ambikā who finds mention in the *Yajurveda* and is allowed a share in the sacrificial offerings. Even in that context, she is posited as the sister of Rudra and once even as his mother, but without any of her attributes as a Śākta deity as mentioned in the later Purāṇas. Umā is given a totally different treatment. Her description in the later Purāṇas, her mountain abode and even her *vāhana* speak of a goddess from outside India. She is certainly not the Umā mentioned in the Vedic *Saṁhitā*s and *Brāhmaṇa*s. The earliest works mentioning Umā are the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Kena Upaniṣad* — while in the former, Umā and Ambikā are associated with Rudra, in the latter she is described as Haimavatī. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* also mentions Durgī (i.e., Durgā) but makes it clear that Umā and Durgī were different goddesses though endowed with similar attributes (Chakrabarty: 168-69). B.P. Sinha is of the opinion that possibly Durgī, like Umā, was a mountain goddess connected with the Himālayas, particularly when Durgā literally means "the lady of difficult terrain" (Singh 1967: 50). Based on these evidences and the others cited previously, it can be said that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origins began to find a place in the Vedic pantheon, albeit as spouses or sisters of the Vedic gods. To quote Chakrabarti,

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[4] Daniel, H.H. Ingalls, "Foreword," to C. Mackenzie Brown, *God as Mother: A Feminine Theology in India*, Hartford, Vermont: Claude Stark & Co., 1974.

> . . . Umā was the first non-Āryan deity to be regarded as the wife of a Vedic god, though at this stage their relationship was not characterized by the Sāṁkhya or Vedānta concept of Puruṣa and Prakṛti or Brahmā and Māyā.
>
> — Chakrabarty:169

Perhaps the first unmistakable attempt to incorporate a non-Vedic goddess in all her essentials within the Brāhmaṇical fold was made in the *Mahābhārata*. These hymns addressed to Durgā reveal a pattern of certain recurring motifs, namely the conception of the goddess, her basic attributes and associations, and the nature of worship.[5] Vaiśampāyana said:

> And while Yudhisthira was on his way to the delightful city of Virata, he began to praise mentally the divine Durga, the Supreme goddess of the universe, born of the womb of Yasoda, and formed of the boons bestowed on

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[5] V.S. Suthankar, S.K. Belvalker and others have considered both the hymns as later interpolations.

> her by Narayana, sprung from the race of cowherd Nanda . . . one who is always decked in celestial garlands and attired in celestial robes — who is armed with scimitar and shield, and always rescues the worshipper sunk in sin. . . . And Yudhisthira said, salutations to thee, O giver of boons. O thou that art identical with Krishna, O maiden, O thou that dost observe the vow of *Brahmacharya*, O thou of body bright as the newly-risen sun. . . . Salutations to thee, O thou of four hands and four faces. . . . O thou that rangest the ethereal regions, thy true form and thy *Brahmacharya* are both of the purest kind. Sable as black clouds, thy face is beautiful as that of *Sankarshana*. Thou bearest two large arms long as a couple of poles raised in honour of Indra. In thy (six) other arms thou bearest a vessel, a lotus, a bell, a noose, a bow, a large discus, and various other weapons. . . . O goddess thou shinest with a face that challengeth the moon in beauty . . . thou shinest also with peacock plumes standing erect on they head, and thou hast sanctified the celestial regions by adopting the vow of perpetual maidenhood. It is for this O thou that hast slain the Mahisasura . . . thou art Jaya and Vijaya, and it is thou that givest victory in battle. . . . Thy eternal abode is on Vindhya — the foremost of mountains. *O Kali, Kali* thou art the great Kali, ever fond of wine and meat and animal sacrifice. . . . And because thou rescuest people from difficulties whether they are afflicted in wilderness or sinking in the great oceans. It is for that, thou art called Durga by all.
>
> — *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭ-Parva, VI: 10-12

It is interesting to note that the quoted passage shows similar inconsistencies like the upapurāṇic compositions. It is almost as if Yudhiṣṭhira is invoking more than one goddess. What has also been highlighted by virtue of its being mentioned thrice in the same passage, is the unmarried status of the goddess. She is a *brahmacārin* and has vowed to remain so. What is more surprising is that K.M. Ganguli, translating the text at the end of the nineteenth century, does not take any note of this fact. In the Bhīṣma-Parva, Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna on the eve of the battle to utter the hymns to Durgā. Arjuna prays:

> I bow to thee, O leader of Yogins, O thou that art identical with Brahman, O thou that dwellest in the forest of Mandara, O thou that art freed from decrepitude and decay, O Kali, O wife of Kapala, O thou that art of a black and tawny hue, I bow to thee O bringer of benefits to the devotees, I bow to thee, O Mahakali, O wife of the Universal destroyer. . . . O thou that art sprung from the Kata race. . . O fierce one, O giver of victory, O victory's self, O thou that bearest a banner of peacock plumes. . . . O thou that art the younger sister of the chief of cowherds, O eldest one, O thou that wert born in the race of the cowherd Nanda! O thou that art always fond of buffalo's

> blood, O thou that wert born in the race of Kushika. . . . O Uma, O Sakambhari, O thou that art white in hue, O thou that art black in hue, O thou that hast slain the Asura Kaitabha. . . . O mother of Skanda, O thou that possessest the (six) highest attributes, O Durga . . . thou art described as Swaha and Swadha, as Kala and Kashta, and as Sarvasvati, as Savitra the mother of the Vedas, and as the science of Vedanta. . . . Thou art the unconsciousness, the sleep, the illusion, the modesty. . . . Thou art *Savitri* and thou art mother.
>
> — *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma-Parva, 23, 48-49

By this *strotra*, the character of the goddess has changed again. She is married, she is exactly what *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describes her to be. In fact, it also seems that a supra-figure like Prakṛti or Great Goddess has also been formed, since the poet/interpolator (call him what you may) is consciously doing this mix and match. The chief characteristic here too, however, is of a deity sporting in the inaccessible forests on the mountains surrounded by wild animals, ghosts and goblins. She is fond of battles and destroys demons like Mahiṣāsura. She is also fond of meat, wine, and sacrifices offered to her, particularly buffalo's blood.

This process of assimilation continues till she becomes the Caṇḍikā of the *Devī Māhātmya* around the sixth century. Chakrabarti presents the entire process very pithily. He says that

> . . . the *Vāgāmbhṛṇi Sūkta* of *Ṛgveda* genuinely foreshadows the notion of Śakti behind all divine and human actions. If the *Devī Māhātmya* now wished to promulgate the idea that all the diverse goddesses were manifestations of that abstract notion called *śakti*, it did have its undeniable resonance in the most sacred Vedic literature.
>
> — Chakrabarti:170

The goddess who is worshipped by Beṅgālīs around the world in the months of the Indian autumn is the same deity who was composed and preserved in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The worship of various other goddesses and gods came into being before and after her, but the Goddess conceptually remained crystallized in the *Devī Māhātmya*. Chakrabarti goes on to add that though other goddesses continued to be worshipped in their own identities, "the process of integration was complete with the *Devī Māhātmya* (henceforth referred to as *DM*). The Bengal *Purāṇa*s took over at this point and proceeded to re-enact the process in a regional context" (Chakrabarti:17).

Before we proceed further, we need to understand the context of the Bengal Purāṇas and also what these *upapurāṇa*s were all about. What seems interesting, however, is that the process of crystallization of the Goddess in

DM and the similar one hinted at by Chakrabarti must have started more or less at a similar time, for we find that the earliest Bengal Purāṇa cannot be dated before CE 850.

A brief look at the possible life and conditions that the brāhmaṇas faced and the necessity for something like the *upapurāṇas*, is important before we proceed further. In broad brush-strokes then, it can be safely said that the Brāhmaṇical social order was threatened and seriously undermined in the early centuries of the Christian Era. To meet this challenge, the brāhmaṇas sought to draw people into their fold from the non-Brāhmaṇical spheres of influence. This interaction that was initiated between the Brāhmaṇical and the numerous local traditions resulted in the creation of a composite, syncretic socio-religious system as delineated in the Purāṇas. This must have sufficed in the power centres up north but the post-Gupta period also saw large scale migrations of the brāhmaṇas to peripheral areas such as Bengal, Assam, Orissa, etc. In those conditions the *mahāpurāṇa*s of primarily northern and western genesis did not serve the purpose well. The brāhmaṇas, immigrants in Bengal, were themselves a vulnerable, heterogeneous group dependent on the generosity of the people and the state for survival. Moreover, the brāhmaṇas had to contend with a well-entrenched Buddhist system that enjoyed state patronage and local support. It was in this scenario that a new category of regionally identifiable Purāṇas came into being. These offered a balance between the Purāṇic-Brāhmaṇical tradition and the exclusively local traditions of Bengal.

The task for the Bengal Purāṇas was cut out since the beginning, to delicately widen the scope of Brāhmaṇism, in order to accommodate as many local cultural elements as could be incorporated. The key element was to enter into a dialogue with the local populace and induce them to participate in the interactive process without compromising the social supremacy of Brāhmaṇism. This involved walking the tight rope between the strong Vedic authority on one hand and affirmation of the local popular customs on the other.

The Purāṇas therefore tried hard to strive over internal differences of the sectarian brāhmaṇas and project, consistently, Buddhism as the deviant "other." The Purāṇas urged the rulers and the local populace to patronize the brāhmaṇas by giving them gifts for the conducting of sacrifices and doing rituals on the rulers' behalf. Kings were instructed to follow the advice of the brāhmaṇas, exempt them from taxation, grant them land, and above all protect their property and privileges. This formula must have had its effect, for as Chakrabarti says, the

> . . . contemporary land-charters come remarkably close to the Purāṇas in endorsing the Brāhmaṇical world-view. Buddhism, under the influence of the Tantras, lost its distinct profile as an institutional religion in the eyes of the laity. While Buddha was appropriated as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, lay followers were eventually subsumed within the expansive framework of Brāhmaṇism, which emerged triumphant, at least in the ideological sphere, by the twelfth century. — Chakrabarti: 33

The Bengal Purāṇas fought this ideological battle using a basic ground rule — adopt the cult of the Goddess to become the appropriate medium of assimilation of the local culture. This was made possible by the creation of a metatextual category called the *mūlaprakṛti*. Drawing carefully upon the Sāṁkhya concept of *prakṛti*, bringing it down from the conceptual paradigm to the level of human womanhood and carefully interlacing it with the Vedānta concept of *māyā*, this single theological metarule was formed. For, the brāhmaṇas had understood clearly that the basic concept of the goddess that was indigenously worshipped was non-Sanskritic in nature. She was a virgin warrior deity residing in inaccessible mountains and forests, and was propitiated with animal sacrifices. She was supposed to be the repository of an abstract power called *śakti*. It must have been this concept of *śakti* that allowed for her inclusion in the Brāhmaṇical fold without essentially subverting her original identity or mode of worship. According to Chakrabarti the reason behind the nature of the Bengal Purāṇas is primarily due to the purpose they were meant to serve. He says, that the

> success of Brāhmaṇical hegemony depended on the acceptance of their normative prescriptions and the internalization of their cultural assumptions by the local people. They composed their texts with a view to invoking a particular response in their intended recipients. These socio-religious prescriptions consisted of a series of legitimations of local beliefs and practices already in vogue and the reiteration of the fundamental principles of Brāhmaṇism. These legitimations had to be worked out in such a way that they did not impair the recognition of the original model and yet privileged the brāhmaṇas with authority to decide the degree of admissibility of the local usages. — Chakrabarti: 23

These prescriptions are contained in the Bengal Purāṇas. The metastructure used is that of *mūlaprakṛti* as mentioned. The rest was easy. The Purāṇas constructed a plausible genealogy of the Goddess, provided her a proper position in the hierarchy and attached her to important male members of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. This part of the game seems to have been played out with the clockwork precision of matchmaking, which still happens to be one of the crucial functions that the local *purohit* performs in Bengal villages.

J.C. Heesterman defines tradition as "the way society formulates and deals with the basic problems of human existence," and since these problems are insoluble, they are "attacked, formulated and dealt with each time anew under a different aspect. Tradition therefore is and has to be bound up with the ever-shifting present. Hence the irritating flexibility and fluidity of tradition" (Heesterman 1985: 10). What one realizes is that tradition develops in the manner in which it handles contingent issues. Once established as "tradition" it flows into a system of adherence called *lokācāra* (popular belief), a category that the Bengal Purāṇas seem to lay a heavy stress on.

The Goddess in Bengal

It has been mentioned earlier that Bengal had remained outside the pale of Brāhmaṇic influence for a long time. The large-scale brāhmaṇa migration to Bengal began only with the Gupta period. Therefore, it would not be completely outlandish to posit that the goddess tradition, though perhaps not in the form of a consolidated Mother Goddess principle, existed prior to the arrival of Brāhmaṇism. When Brāhmaṇism eventually came, the Goddess was deeply ensconced, and demanded her due recognition by the newcomers. The brāhmaṇas, adjusting to the prevailing tradition, adopted those existing goddesses, did an appropriate make-over by transforming them into Brāhmaṇical divinities by means of a carefully constructed Śākta theology, a phenomenon that Chakrabarti calls the Purāṇic process. It also stands to reason why the Bengal Purāṇas seem to be obsessively involved with the goddess cult. This possible reason could only have been the pre-eminence of the cult in Bengal and that it happened to be one of strongest forces that the brāhmaṇas had to contend with. It must not be forgotten in this context that even Buddhism (Mahāyāna) had founded the Vajrayāna sect in an act of classic cohabitation with Tantrism.

Taking the cue from Chakrabarti, if one tries to reconstitute what the early Purāṇas saw the prevailing goddess cult as, we find the description of a goddess who, if not a Durgā-Kālī combine, is a not-so-distant ancestress of the Devī. Her characteristic features can be consolidated from the references to her in the *Devī Purāṇa* and the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. Incidentally both these Purāṇas are placed between CE 750 to 900. They also happen to be the earliest Purāṇas to freeze on the text. The *Devī Purāṇa* says of her that she lives in mountains (like Hemakūṭa, Mahendra, Himālaya, Vindhya, Sahya and Śrīgiri) and caves,[6] has the lion as her mount, and so she is called "Mṛgendradhvajā."[7] She protects her devotees from wild beasts[8] and ghosts[9] who surround her. Her associations with the sound of bells[10] and the peacock feather,[11] which is her ornament, are highlighted as her distinctive mark. She is a virgin and a fierce warrior whose victories on Ghorāsura, Kṛṣṇadharmāsura and the demon Ruru are described in graphic martial details in chapters 14 to 20, 40 to 42 and 83 to 88 respectively, in the *Devī Purāṇa*.[12] A refuge of gods in crisis,[13] the goddess is fond of blood, meat and wine.[14] She is said to bear the snake, plough, mace, noose, sword, discus, conch, curved sword, staff and also the *triśūla* (the three pointed piercing fork) just like Durgā.[15] She is fond of animal sacrifice. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* not only details out the various kinds of animals[16] that can be sacrificed, but also the process, the exact method and consequences in fairly graphic detail. Human sacrifice, its do's and don'ts are also discussed in fair detail in the Purāṇas. Though she is generally worshipped by everyone by the

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[6] . . . *hemakūṭa mahendre himādrau mahidharīṇi vindhyasahyālaye śrīgirau saṁsthite* — *DP*, 17.17.

[7] Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha, tr., *mṛgendradhvaje* as "since the king of the beasts, lion, is your mount you are described as *siṁhadhvajā*".

[8] *mṛgendrairgṛhitam gajendrairvidhinnam. . . khagendrairvikpataṁ bhyaṅgaiśca daṣṭaṁ jale cāpi magnaṁ sthale cāpi khinnaṁ vane cāpi mūdham sane jiyamanam. . . māteva saṁrakṣase putravannityaśaḥ* — *DP*, 17.26.

[9] *dadyācc digvaliṁ śakra sarvadikṣu samanvitaḥ bhūtavetālasaṁghasya mātreṇānena suvrata jaya tvam kali bhūteśi sarvabhūtasamāvṛte rakṣā māṁ nijabhūtebhyo balim gṛhṇa śivapriye* — *DP*, 31.15-16.

[10] *gaṇṭāvodgitakarnotsave* — *DP*, 17.23.

[11] *picchadhvaje* — *DP*, 17.17.

[12] *kanyādevyā svayaṁ proktā kanyārūpā tu śūlinī yāvadakṣatayoniḥ syāt tāvaddevyā surārihā* — *DP*, 35.17-18 also *kanyārūpā mahābhāgā mahādadimamaskṛtā* — *DP*, 87.39.

[13] *tvaṁ devī pararakṣā no brahmādīnāṁ bhyayārṇave* — *DP*, 42.2.

[14] *rudhiramāṁsamadyapriye* — *DP*, 9.56.

[15] *viṣadharhalamuṣala-paśupāśanicakrābja-khaṭvāṅgāṅkuśānekaśastrādyate, rudraśūlākṣasūtra-dhamaddhāriṇī daityavidrāvaṇi hariṇi dhāriṇi. . .* — *DP*, 17.17.

[16] *pakṣinaḥ kacchapā grāhā matsya navavidhā mṛgāḥ mahiṣo godhikā gavaśchago ruruśca śūkaraḥ* ।

khaḍgaśca kṛṣnasāraśca godhikā śarabho hariḥ śārddūlaśca naraścaiva svagātrarudhiraṁ tathā caṇḍikābhairvādīnāṁ balayaḥ parikīrttitāḥ ॥ — *KP* 67.3-5.

dakṣiṇācāra (right handed way), to tribes like *pulindas* and *savaras* she bestows success and munificence even in the socially disapproved left method of worship.[17]

This reconstruction of the Goddess in the *upapurāṇas* is remarkably similar to the descriptions that are found in the *Mahābhārata*. Moreover, they find a lot of resonance in the Goddess Durgā as she is worshipped today. Even in her form as Mahīṣamardinī, Durgā finds mention in the *Devī Purāṇa*. Here too she is described with her mount, the lion.[18] In *Kālikā Purāṇa*, describing the details of the human sacrifice, the brāhmaṇas are proscribed from offering human beings or wine to the goddess.[19] This very fact, however, also suggests that these rites were alien to the Brāhmaṇical ritual scheme. Brāhmaṇism, in the process of assimilating the goddess into its fold was willing to go a long way, albeit with certain reservations. The goddess was thus superimposed with Brāhmaṇical attributes and equated with the absolute energy, *śakti*. All other local and tribal goddesses were subsumed under her as mere manifestations. Chakrabarti in his chapter on the "Cult of the Goddess" goes on to carefully analyse how a mere assertion of her omnipotence did not make the goddess acceptable, and how the Purāṇas are rife with instances of trial and error of the entire mechanism. Some of the key elements that required to be painstakingly sorted were the issue of appropriate genealogy to ensure that the Goddess was accorded her due place hierarchically in the pantheon, and that too in a delicate manner, so that it did not impair the recognition of the original Brāhmaṇical model. Cautious steps had to be taken so that the Goddess was linked carefully to the entire core pantheon in an appropriate manner. A careful look at the praise that Indra and the other gods shower on the Goddess on the eve of her slaying the demon king Ruru (the equivalent of Māhīṣāsura in *Devī Mahātmya*), in *Devī Purāṇa* is illustrative of the fact:

> She, whose ears are adorned with red gem-studded ear-rings, whose face is furnished with frequent dreadful frowns, who is unconventionally dressed and has a violent temper, who holds *paraśu*, *vallaki*, *ḍamaru*, *khaṭṭāṅga*, and skull in her hands, who is three-eyed and rides an ox, we bow to that Mahabhairavi.
> — 24

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[17] . . . *pulindaśavarādiṣu lokantareṇa mārgeṇa vāmācāreṇa siddhidā* — *DP*, 39.142.

[18] *siṁhamāruhya kalpānte nihato mahiṣo yathā.*
mahiṣaghnī tato devī kanya vai siṁhavāhinī — *DP*, 37.14

[19] *siṁhaṁ vyāghraṁ narañcāpi svagātrarudhiraṁ tathā na dadyād brāhmaṇo madyam mahādevyai kadācena* — *KP*, 67.50.

Seated on an unblemished white lotus surrounded by humming bees, she who rides the large swan, (she) who is served by sages, to that mother's feet, who has originated from the *pitāmaha*, do we bow. — 25

One who is bright as the autumnal moon on her matted hair and whose weapon is trident. We bow to that mother's feet who originated from the Pramathanātha. — 26

She who has the gait of the peacock, who is pure complexioned and whose garment shines from the lustre of the small bells which adorn her feet and the sharp weapons which she holds in her hands, to that destroyer of thirty enemies who has originated from Guha do we bow. — 27

(One) whose complexion is like that of lightning, meteor and pure gold, who is decorated with diverse ornaments and is seated on an elephant, whose weapon is *vajra* (lightning) and who is worshipped by the gods. She who bestows boons and enjoyment to her worshippers, we worship the feet of that Indra *śakti*. — 30

(One) whose splendour resembles hundreds of suns, who wears a garland of white skulls, who has a gaping mouth with frightful teeth, whose eyes are reddish brown like the sun of the doomsday, who has an attractive figure, is extremely fond of blood, meat and fat, and holds fierce weapons, we worship that Ugra *śakti*. — 31

She who with her fan-like ears, keeps the humming bees away, who has the face of an elephant, and with the fragrance of rut oozing from her temples pleases the ten quarters, who is auspicious and remover of all obstacles. We bow to that leader of *gaṇas* (roughly "forces") who originated from the body of Pramathanātha. — 32[20]

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[20] *pracaṇḍamaṇikuṇḍalaṁ bhrukuṭibhasurogrānanaṁ*
karālamatibhiṣaṇaṁ vikṛtaveśamatyulvaṇaṁ
jvalatparaśuvallakī, damarumuṇḍakhaṭvāṇginaṁ
namāmi vrsabhasthitam trinayanam mahabhairavim ॥24 ॥

sitapravarapaṅkaje bhamaravṛndanādākule
sadā vimalavistṛte vipularājahaṁsasthitam
sthitim pravaravirājate ṛṣikulopasaṁsevitā
namāmi śirasā pitāmaha samudbhavāṁ mātaram ॥25 ॥

śaracchaśiśatojjvalāṁ tuhinaśankhakuṇḍaprabhāṁ
sphuratkiraṇabhāṣitāṁ sitavṛṣāsanasthitām
jaṭāvikaṭajūṭake dadhati candralekhānta yaṁ
namāmi triśikhāyudhaṁ pramathanāthadehodbhavām ॥26 ॥

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What is exciting about this passage is the detailed and sensuous description of the Goddess in her myriad forms. There is no desire on the part of the poet to iron out the differences. Rather, the focus seems to be on the known pantheon of gods and correlating them to the available database of the local goddesses. The detailed description is a necessity to distinguish between the various goddesses. Also, it needs to be realized that these iconic representations are a typical non-Vedic feature that was being incorporated in the Purāṇas. The idea of *śakti* has most certainly not been crystallized at this point of time, for there is no attempt to ease in the concept of fundamental indivisibility. The goddesses are too disparate — at times polar opposite features are given to the deities. Also, the text is probably addressing two different strata of people. While the initiated would recognise the principle of indivisibility, the ordinary devotee would relate to a familiar aspect of the Goddess — one who remained as familiar and accessible as she was in the indigenous tradition.

An interesting feature of this passage is the correlation drawn with the principal gods. By positing her as a *śakti* of the male deities, she is implicitly looked upon as a consort and therefore a secondary driving force. The Goddess' individuality is markedly diminished and she is reduced to the status of a clone of her superior male counterparts. This subjugation of the Goddess to a Vedic or an early Smārtta deity possibly satisfied the Brāhmaṇical

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mayūravaragāminīṁ daradaśuddhavarṇotkaṭāṁ
varṇandha caraṇaṁ kalitaghaṇṭikāṁ niśitaśaktihastodyatām
prabhāsikararaśmibhirjhanajhanāyamānaṁśukāṁ
namāmi guhasambhavāṁ tridaśaśatrunirṇāśanīm ॥27 ॥

. . . viśuddhakanakaprabhaṁ cakita-vidyudulkapamaṁ
karīndrarabasaṅkulaṁ vividha bhūṣarnairbhuṣitām
sphuratkuliśadhāriṇīṁ surasamūhasaṁpiyitāṁ
namāmi varadāyikāṁ vipula-bhogadāṁ śatrujām ॥30 ॥

divakaraśataprabhāṁ sita-kapāla-mātādharīm
karāladaśanānanāṁ pralayaravīva piṅgekṣaṇān
varatanudhāriṇīṁ rudhiramāṁsamedaḥpriyāṁ
namāmi śivasaṁsthitāṁ śaraṇadaṁ mahogrāyudhām ॥31 ॥

calacchravaṇacāmaraprahata ṣaṭapadārāvitaṁ kapolamadavariṇā daśadiśāntarā modayan
gajendravadanaṁ śubhāṁ sakalavighnavidhvaṁsanīṁ namāmi gaṇanāyikāṁ
pramathanāthatehodbhavāṁ ॥32 ॥ — *DP*, 87.24-32, Translation by self.

conditions of acceptability, as also it served the purpose of subsuming the Goddess without upsetting the applecart of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon.

What is also interesting is the choice of the gods and goddesses. The choice of Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu as the trinity and Indra as the supreme deity of the Vedas is understandable. What is quite intriguing is the choice of Kṛtānta or Yama (*DP*, 87.28), Skanda (*DP*, 87.27) and Gaṇeśa (*DP*, 87.31). Also the Goddess is seen as a consort/*śakti* of some aspect of Śiva [Śaivism and the Vedic context being much older than the *upapurāṇa*s, it is quite certain that Rudra, Śiva and Pramathanātha were already established as one principle] thrice in the same composition. Though this cannot be proved with any certainty, it can be posited, however, that one perhaps can see the seeds of Durgā's family in this section of the *Devī Purāṇa*. It also stands to reason why lesser gods like Skanda and Gaṇeśa, who hold neither the portfolio of a trinity nor that of a *dikpāla* (which even *kṛtānta* is), and who as full-fledged gods develop with the late Smṛti tradition, should be brought on the same platform as the great gods of the pantheon.

Finally, the passage is perhaps a representative example of what the brāhmaṇas achieved at the end of the "Purāṇic process."[21] It is a perfect fusion of the non-Brāhmaṇical reality and the Brāhmaṇical ideal. Contrasting images of the goddess as fair, attractive, gentle and benevolent (Brāhmaṇical) and a dark, deformed, capricious and bloodthirsty warrior (non-Brāhmaṇical) were inextricably intertwined to eventually blend into a complex figure. This worked in favour of creating the desired complexity and depth of the goddess principle. Through this dialectics of extremes, a new divinity was emerging, one whose range was so vast as to encompass all modes of contradiction and raise her beyond the pale of logical comprehension. There was no logical explanation that could pin down this sign. She was well on her way to become Durgā.

Another interesting aspect was that the Bengal Purāṇas did not essentially fight the Tantras in the realm of ritual praxis. Instead, they used the existing popular base of the Tantras. Since Tantra was more a set of specific rule-governed rituals, the Purāṇas incorporated large chunks of their recommended practices in ritual prescriptions without providing much of a justification except in a rather general sort of way. For instance, take an incongruous situation like when Indra asks Brahmā for the *padamālinī mantra vidyā*. After giving him the *vidyā* which ends with an exhortation — *ghātaya ghātaya cāmuṇḍe kili kili vicce huṁ phaṭ* — to destroy and kill, Brahmā says,

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[21] I retain Chakrabarti's term for this process of syncretisation throughout this discourse.

> Umā has spoken of the *nyāsa* of each and every mantra sequence and the propitiation of each *mantra* sequence; the prescribed method that she has enumerated, dear ones, I will tell you exactly that. As a facilitator of actions recommended by vedic system, this *vidyā* as stated in the Atharvaveda is matchless and will remain so.[22]

At first glance, Brahmā, the creator, recommending this *mantra* of destruction seems quite incongruous, more so as it is not from the first three universally sanctioned Vedas. But then this was perhaps the simplest and the most honourable way in which Brāhmaṇism could reconcile with the Tantras. In ritual practice, however, even this veneer of Brāhmaṇism was dropped. A typical Purāṇic worship would include,

> Veneration of the *guru,* activating the kundalini, performance of *Agnihotra homa*, execution of *bhuta suddhi* and *hṛllekha-mātṛkānyāsa*, meditation on the nature of the goddess, performance of her *japa* and handing over of the fruits of *japa* to her, ushering in of the goddess with *asana*, *arghya*, *pādya* and *ācamana*, offering of water for bath, clothes, ornaments, perfumes and flowers . . . recitation of the *Devīsūkta* and the *Upaniṣads*, ecstatic dancing and singing with heart filled with love, hair standing on end, . . . and voice choked with emotion, feeding *brahmanas*, virgins, children and the public and finally taking leave of the deity by executing the *saṁhāra mudrā.*
>
> — Chakrabarti: 194

The procedure mentioned is a combination of diverse worship systems. While the platform is provided by the Vedas, the opening sequence of the preparatory rites is essentially Tāntric, the actual worship is the Purāṇic innovation of popular Tāntric worship system (*pūjā*), and the conclusion is an intensely personal devotional ecstasy obviously drawn from the *bhakti* movement. Since *bhakti* has no place in either Vedic sacrificial religion or in the praxis-oriented Tantras, which anyway assumed the Goddess in their own selves, it must have been used to bind the disparate segments in a common

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[22] *ekaikasya padanyāsaṁ padānāṁ sādhanaṁ tathā*
umayā kathitaṁ vatsa yathāvadanupūrvvaśaḥ ॥63 ॥

tathā tehahaṁ pravakhyāmi śṛṇu tatvena vāsava
siddhāntavedakarmmaṇāmatharvvapadadīpanīm
anayā tu samā vidyā na bhūta na bhaviṣyati ॥64 ॥
— *DP*, 9.63-64, Translation mine

bond of emotion. Durgā-Pūjā seems to be the product of such a success story. It brings together contradictory and doctrinally exclusive elements and blends them into a harmonious whole.

Syncretic Pūjā Paddhati: Some Thoughts

The rites of Durgā-Pūja as contained in the various editions of *Śrī Śrī Durgā-Pūja Paddhati*[23] can be broadly divided into fourteen major sections, namely: 1. *Kalpārambha* (opening of the ritual sequence); 2. *Bodhanam* (awakening); 3. *Saptamī Pūjā* (worship of the seventh day); 4. *Aṣṭamī Pūjā* (worship of the eighth day); 5. *Sandhi Pūjā* (worship at the moment of conjunction); 6. *Ardharātri Pūjā* (worship at midnight); 7. *Mahānavamī Pūjā* (worship of the ninth day); 8. *Balidānam* (animal sacrifice); 9. *Homaḥ Prayogaḥ* (use of sacrifical fire); 10. *Kumārī Pūjā* (worship of the virgin); 11. *Daśamīkṛtyam* (to be done of the tenth day); 12. *Aparājitā Pūjā* (worship of goddess Aparājitā); 13. *Śāntimantraḥ* (the *mantra* of peace); 14. *Bāsantīpūjā* (worship of Goddess Bāsantī). Each of these sections has numerous subsections which detail out the process involved. Going through the Durgā-Pūjā rituals one realizes that there is a complete admixture of Vedic and Tāntric rituals that happens here. On one hand the structure of the rituals is essentially Tāntric, on the other hand, there are clearly many elements of Vedic rites embedded into the rituals too. There are certain ingenious innovations: for instance in the *homa* or the *svastivācana*s or the insertion of *kṛtāñjali*s when and where possible. It is these innovations that, at least, bring in the historical developmental context of Durgā-Pūjā in the ritual. What is quite intriguing is that the three variations of the same *pūjā* — *Devī Purāṇokta*, *Kālikā Purāṇokta* and *Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇokta* — exist simultaneously. Though the last is the most popular with larger *bāroari pūjā*s

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[23] For the details of the litany of Durgā-Pūjā I have consulted four *paddhatis:* 1. *Kālikāpurāṇokta Śrī Śrī Durgā-Pujā Paddhati*, Pranavkumar Pourohitya-viśārada Śaivācāryya (ed.), Rekha Ray, Kolkata, 1999; 2. *Bṛhannandikeśvara Pūrāṇokta Śrī Śrī Durgā-Pūjā Paddhati*, Śyāmacaran Kabiratna (ed.), Mahesh Publication, Calcutta, 1985; 3. *Purohita Darpaṇa*, Surendramohan Bhattacharya (ed.) 37th ed. Revised by Yogendracandra Vyākaraṇatīrtha Vidyāratha. Satyanarayana Library, Calcutta, 1973-74; and 4. Hillary Peter Rodrigues, *Ritual Worship of the Great Goddess: The Liturgy of the Durgā Pūjā with Interpretations*, State University of New York Press, New York, 2003. This work primarily follows the litany as given in the *Purohita Darpaṇa* and has some marked departures from the other litanies mentioned. Incidentally most *purohita*s in Kolkata follow texts like Nos. 1 & 2 rather than the *Purohita Darpaṇa*. The most important departure is in the absence of the Durgā *bīja*, *duṁ*, from the popular litanies and it being replaced by the *mātṛkā bīja*, *hrīṁ*. The litany as given in the *Purohita Darpaṇa*, however, retains the Durgā *bīja*.

(public *pūjās*), the other two are equally valid modes of worship. Interesting too is the fact that none of the procedures ever mentions the main Purāṇas: they are all drawn from the Bengal *upapurāṇas*. The tense relationship between the Śākta, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults is a thing that lores are made up of, but do these variants point to any such lore? One wonders! Most intriguing however is the conspicuous absence of the Durgā *bīja* from the ritual texts. The *Bṛhattantrasāraḥ* states the Durgā *bīja* to be,

> *thāntabījam samuddhatya vāmakarṇābhibhūṣitam* ।
> *īndubindumsamāyuktaṁ bījaṁ paramadurlabhaṁ* ॥
> *caturvargapradaṁ sākṣānmahāpātakanāśanan* ।
> *ekākṣarīsama nāsti vidyā tribhuvane priye* ॥2 ॥ — (Agambagish 1997: 396)

> The *bīja* that forms when *u* and *bindu* is added to the letter after *tha* which is *da*, in other words *duṁ*, this monosyllabic *durgāmantra* is extremely scarce and remover of great evils. In the three worlds there is no *vidyā* similar to this.
>
> — *Translation mine*

While virtually all the feminine and other *bīja*s make an appearance in the *pūjā*, the Durgā *bīja* is mentioned not even once! This interesting mystery is sorted out in the ritual text by proffering her the general *mātṛkā mantra hrīṁ*. Though it is not within the scope of this work to trace the roots and get to the bottom of this mystery, it is important to understand the conceptual framework of the *bīja* to understand the ritual paradigm of Durgā-Pūjā.

Bīja Mantras

There are many theories that explain the origin of *bīja*s in Tantra, the most common being an ancient disdain about the unintelligible gibberish. This point of view can be traced to the Cārvāka philosophers (the school of Indian materialists), who considered the authors of the Vedas as impostors passing any concocted words for words of wisdom. The Jainas too were extremely critical of *mantric* usage, though, as Agehānanda Bhāratī mentions, they too introduced *bīja*s in their Tantra (Bhāratī 1965:114). There are no clear indications as to how and when *bīja*s were formulated initially. Scholars like Bhāratī have ventured a few speculative hypotheses of interest (Bhāratī, 1965: 115-18).

The first one, as suggested by the antagonists (both ancient and modern) of the Tāntric tradition, focuses on exclusivity as its aim. The theory is that some early *purohita* concocted the *bīja*s as verbal sound clusters that would be unintelligible to the non-initiate. Only the close group of adepts would have an access to the paradigm. Bhāratī's guess is that though the process might not have been as arbitrary as it sounds, the *bīja*s were formed using phonetic principles by exapting phonetic elements from divine names and sacred texts and putting them together under "a state of non-discursive contemplation." He cites the example of *astra bīja — phaṭ* — which is used as an aggressive *mantra* from the Vedic times. Giving probable reasons, he states that the sound *phaṭ*, for an Indian ear, onomatopoeically conveys explosion. It is also used for "crack" as an indeclinable in *Atharvaveda*, *Vājsaneyī Saṁhitā* and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, according to Monier-Williams. In many colloquial Indian languages too, it is a term to signify explosion. All these folk neologisms might have led to the formation of a *bīja* that stands for a definitive marker of an "ending" or closure. Once such datum got incorporated as a meaningful morpheme, more creative and phonetically valid explorations were not improbable.

The second hypothesis Bhāratī forwards is based on an ancient Indian notion voiced since Vedic times, in Yāska's *Nirukta*. The concept is that the divinities are not comfortable if referred to by their actual names. The specific reference is to the use of *indha* for "Indra" in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Śaṅkara in his commentary says that the usage is explained by the fact that "gods like to be called by indirect names." Bhāratī's footnote here actually explains the context clearly. He says, "No word *indha* exists, though it is of course a corruption of *indhana* "fuel for fire," from the root *indh*, Indra is the god of lighting and the alluded connection is evident" (Bhāratī: 157). If this hypothesis were followed, one could perhaps explain all those *bīja*s that share the initial of the deity's name, as in *krīṁ* for Kṛṣṇa, *śrīṁ* for Lakṣmī, etc. The process may not have been always conscious, as many a time one notices that synonyms of a particular deity-name find currency in the *bīja*, though it is the other name which has more currency in usage, for example, Śrī for Lakṣmī, Kāma for Madana (*bīja* = *klīṁ*).

The third hypothesis follows the concept of *spandana* (vibration) in the Indian context. It is believed that every element in action produces a pitch that creates certain vibrations. The aesthetically sensitive ear of the seer perceived these pitches. The seer then, perhaps, evaluated the constituents of the *mantra* using quasi-scientific parameters of allocating sound vibrations to the element, to which a deity is associated. Therefore, *raṁ* is the *bīja* for Agni, *vaṁ* for Varuṇa, etc. The esoteric literature constantly rationalizes the names of the divinities; for instance, *ha* stands for Śiva (his name is also *hara*); *ra* is for nature (*prakṛti*), may be due to the phonetic dominance of *ra* in *prakṛti*; *I* is

Mahāmāyā; *mada* is considered to be the mother of the universe; the dot grapheme, *bindu*, is the dispeller of sorrow. So with the *bīja — hrīṁ*, connotes the Lady Earth (Bhuvaneśvarī).

Another postulation for the formation of *bīja*s is by tracing the deity's mythological provenance. Let us again look at the *bīja hrīṁ*. Normally, this *bīja* is used in the texts for female deities primarily. It is also used for some male God when he is to be meditated upon in conjunction with his female counterpart, *śakti*, *prajñā* or any other female attendant. If one tries to trace the roots, one finds that the Indian root for "modesty" or "bashfulness" that connotes a "feminine virtue" since the Vedic period is $\sqrt{}$*hrī*. But then *hrīṁ* happens to be one of the most crucial *bīja*s and the literature available on it is quite elaborate. Some *bīja*s do not have any literary corroboration, but even then it is important to trace their mythical provenance. This aspect is most important in the formation of a *bīja* as most commentators too think that in most cases it is a mythological theme that yields the provenance of the *mantra*.

Avalon seems to believe in the *spanda* hypothesis. He believes that in the absolute beginning the natural principle (*prakṛti*) was in the state of equilibrium (*sāmānyāvasthā*). This was the time where there was absolute absence of any sound. The first vibration, the *praṇava dhvani — oṁ*, took place at the commencement of the creation. *Oṁ* is a gross representation of a very subtle sound heard in the *yoga* experience. From this general movement grow special movements and sounds (*viśeṣa spanda*). These numerous *spanda*s create diverse vibratory conditions. Just as *oṁ* is the general sound of the *praṇava dhvani*, all other *bīja*s are particular sounds which are the letters of the alphabet. These other *bīja mantra*s are evolved out of the general sound or the *mahābīja* (*oṁ*), which is the source of all other compounds and underlies the formation of all particular sounds. *Bīja*s and the *praṇava dhvani — oṁ* are pronounced by the mouth and hence are articulate equivalents of the inarticulate primal sounds. The *praṇava dhvani — oṁ* represents the *Brahman* and the other *bīja*s are the associated gods and goddesses. A *bīja* is the *mantra* of a single teller, which is composed of the letter along with the *bindu* which terminates all *mantra*s. Avalon cites Pāṇini and says, "the function of the consonant cannot be pronounced without a vowel, which is hence known as the *śakti* of a consonant" (Woodroffe 1998: 260). The nasal breathing is both *nāda* and the *bindu*. The *m* that ends the *bīja* is sounded nasally high up in the bridge of the nose and is never pronounced from the lip. Each deity has his or her *bīja* and the primary *mantra* used in the worship of any deity is the *mūla mantra* (root *mantra*).

Every syllable, therefore, is the form of the *Brahman*. The *bīja* of a deity is the deity itself. In the *Bṛhad Gandharva Tantra* it is said,

> *śṛṇu devī pravakṣyāmi bījānām deva-rūpatām* ।
> *mantroccāraṇa-mātreṇa devarūpam prajāyate* ॥
>
> Dear Devī listen to me *bīja*s are the form of the deity! Saying forth the *mantra* of the letter the form of the deity is projected.
>
> — cited in Chakrabarti: 268

While Avalon gives one the perspective of the insider, Sanjukta Gupta in explaining how the *bīja* is culled from the *maṇḍala* (which does not fall within the purview of this discussion) also talks a bit about the *mantra oṁ*. The discussion points to the numerous possible entry levels into the Tāntric literature, or in this case, specifically the ritual system.

Oṁ represents the *nāda* form of the *śabda-Brahman*. Each letter of the *mantra*s is a *mantra* in its own right with a distinct personality. The addition of the pure nasal which indicates *śakti* in her first crystallized form, provides the *mantra* with its soul/energy. Every letter has a fixed cosmic position and one or more proper names attached to it. The name, the position and the *nāda* confine to create a specific aspect of the *śakti*. Once again, taking *oṁ* as an example, Gupta shows how it is extracted in the context of *Pañcarātra*.

> The *sādhaka* first extracts *a*, designated Aniruddha, the pervasive one, the primal one within the realm of the world of senses, etc. Next, he extracts and adds to *a* the letter *u*, designated Pradyumna, the irresistible, etc. Then he extracts *m* and adds it to the former two. *M* stands for Saṁkarṣaṇa, the true that exists just before and after the advent of a differentiated world. To this sound cluster OṀ is added *bindu*, the pure nasal, which is the seminal *śakti* immanent in all created entities. But, the *mantra oṁ* also contains the pure sound vibration or resonance (*nāda*) symbolised by the sign of the half-moon (*ardhacandra*). Thus, the *mantra oṁ* contains all the cosmic stages of creation from the undifferentiated to the differentiated, but here the movement is reversed. It shows the state of the emanating *śakti* in which all the differentiated world exists in a potential state; namely *śabda-Brahman*.
>
> — Gupta 1991:237

The position of how the *bīja* emanates is best summed up by Bhāratī who claims that the orthodox explanation is the same with all believers of the *mantric* tradition, i.e., Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, and the like. He says that:

> The *mantra* shows itself through some process of supersensory perception, as a result of successful meditation, as intuition due either to such meditation or through the grace of the *guru* or the *iṣṭadevatā*; it is either seen or heard in that manner; it is not the result of any discursive method of composition; it is revealed in a flash, never in part, but always completely as one unit. Its fruition is either the result of *japa*, or again an act of grace through supernatural initiation; occasionally it may be drug induced. — Bhāratī: 215

The *bīja*s are *mantra*s that are not to be considered alone. They are to be understood in conjunction with the respective *cakra/yantra*, deity, *śakti*, *nāda*, position, *mudrā*, etc. To give a comprehensive perspective of the nature of the Goddess, the complete exposition of these ritual systems is beyond the scope of this paper.

However, from this brief overview one realises that *bīja*s are innate fixtures in ritual acts and *mantra*s. It is also a given fact that there are certain sets of ritual acts and *mantra*s that are repeated through all the days of the Durgā-Pūjā. Very often these are termed *nitya pūjā*s or "regular worship." These are primarily sets of preparatory rites like *suddhi*s (purifications), *nyāsas* (embedding of various deities) onto the body of the worshipper and the objects used in the rites of *baran*, *saṅkalpa*, etc.

From the Litany of Durgā-Pūjā Paddhati

In the litany of the Durgā-Pūjā, while the *saṅkalpa sūkta*, *bodhana* and *ghaṭasthāpanā* offer us insights of the *ṛcā*s borrowed from the Vedic rites, the *nyāsa*s and *bhūtaśuddhi*s are pre-eminently Tāntric in nature. The *saṅkalpa sūkta* is offered to assure the successful enactment of the oath. Drawn from the *Ṛgveda*, it symbolically links the entire ritual procedure to the Vedic *yajña* antecedents.

> *oṁ devo vo dravinodāḥ pūrnaṁ vivaṣṭāsicam udvā siñcadvam upa vā pṛnadhvam*
> *ādidvo deva ohate*
> *oṁ saṅkalpitārtha siddhirastu*
>
> *Oṁ*! The God who gives you wealth demands a full libation poured to him.
> Pour it forth, then fill the vessel full again: then does the God pay heed to you.
> — *Ṛgveda* 7.16.11; *Sāmaveda* 1.55a[24]

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[24] *Ṛgveda*, 7.16.11a; *Sāmaveda*, 1.55a; tr. in consultation with *The Hymns of Ṛgveda*, tr. Ralph T. Griffith, MLBD, New Delhi, 1995. The litany used is *Kālikāpurāṇokta Śrī Srī Durgā-Pūjā Paddhati*, Pranav Kumar Pourohityabiśārad (ed.), Srimati Rekha Ray, Kolkata, 1997. All further translations of aphorisms from the Vedas in this paper have been translated in the like manner.

The *sūkta* and the associated ritual are performed on the sixth lunar day. Apart from the *saṅkalpa*, the two other key rites that happen on this *tithī* are the *bodhana* and *adhibāsa*. *Bodhana* means "causing to awaken." It is a popular belief that the Gods sleep for six months and are awake for six months. Some learned *purohita*s clarify this saying that the essential nature of the gods is primarily *śānta* (calm, placid) but when they have to be called upon to perform extraordinary deeds, their energies have to be ritually harnessed. Such was also the case when Rāma called upon the Goddess to deliver him from Rāvaṇa. The Beṅgālīs believe this episode to be the naissance of the autumnal worship. Since the time was not of the regular Goddess worship, which happens in spring, this "awakening" is also called *akāla bodhana*. This rite of awakening is normally performed on the evening of the sixth *tithi*. *Bodhana* is done on the evening of the fifth day with the following *mantra*. This oath is not the same as the general *saṅkalpa* done previously,

> *viṣṇurom tat sadadya, . . . amuka gotram, . . . vārṣika śarat kālīna śrī bhagavad durgā bodhana karmādhikāra pratibandhaka pāpāpanodana kāmaḥ oṁ devī tvam ityādi mantrādvya japamaham kariṣye.*
>
> Oṁ Viṣṇu! Today, . . . in the autumn season, during the ritual of awakening Durgā, with the desire of removal of obstacles, I shall recite two verses beginning with *oṁ devī tvaṁ* (*oṁ*! O you lady divine).

The *purohita* then reads out the following verses with folded hands,

> *oṁ devī tvam prākṛtam cittam pāpākrāntam abhūnamama tanniḥ svāraya cittānme pāpam. huṁ phaṭ ca te namaḥ!*
> *oṁ sūrya somo yamaḥ kālo mahābhūtāni pañcavai, śubhāśubhāsyeha karmanoḥ navas sākṣīnaḥ*[25]
>
> *Oṁ* ! O divine lady my heart is born of *prakṛti* and full of sins, please remove the sins with my utterance *huṁ* and *phaṭ*.
>
> *Oṁ*! The sun, the moon, the lord of death, time itself, and the five gross elements, these nine are the witness of the deeds, which may be sinful or virtuous.

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[25] From *Devīpurāṇokta Śrī Śrī Durgā Pūjā Paddhati*, in *Purohita Darpaṇa*, Surendramohan Bhattacharya (ed.) 37th edn. Revised by Yogendracandra Vyākaraṇatīrtha Vidyāratha. Satyanarayana Library, Calcutta, 1973-74. Excerpts of all litany in this paper will be from this text.

The *purohita* is then supposed to look downwards and to both the sides with an angry glance mimicking the invoked witnesses in their act of destroying the obstacles. Following this the *purohita* makes a lengthy *saṅkalpa* with a *kuśī*[26] and offers *kuśa* grass, flowers and sesame seeds. The *saṅkalpa* ends as follows:

> *. . . devī purāṇoktavidhinā, bilva vṛkṣa, vārṣika śarat kālīna, śrī bhagavad durgā pūjāṅgabhūta nānādevatā pūjā pūrvaka śrī durgāyāḥ bodhanamaham kariṣye.*
>
> . . . according to the method (prescribed in the *Devī Purāṇa)* into the wood-apple tree, in this autumn season of the year, as part of the *pūjā* of the goddess *Śrī Durgā*, I will perform the worship of all the deities, (this I commit) by doing the *bodhana* of *Śri Durgā*. — *Translation mine*

It is required that the *saṅkalpa* be invoked in the wood-apple tree. Incidentally this tree has leaf triads that represent the three eyes of Śiva or the Devī. Ideally the branch of the tree should have two same sized fruits symbolising the breasts of the goddess. Following the *saṅkalpa* the *ghaṭasthāpanā* happens. The pot (*ghaṭa* or *kalaśa*) is symbolic of the Devī, who will reside or be embodied in the *ghaṭa*. A composite structure construes her final form.

In the rite of *ghaṭasthāpanā*, first, a low altar of soft clay is built in front of the *bilva* tree over a *yantra*. Grain is planted in this altar, which symbolizes earth and soil. While votaries in some homes will draw elaborate ritual diagrams (*alpanā*), more often it is the *purohita* who draws an eight-petalled (*aṣṭadala*) lotus to serve as the *yantra*. In most traditional *pūjā*s the *sarvatobhadra maṇḍala* is used. Among other functions the *yantra* denotes the Devī as the cosmic matrix from which this particular manifestation emerges. The *purohita* utters the following Vedic *mantra* while preparing the soil altar.

> *oṁ bhūrasi bhūmirasi aditirasi viśvadhāya viśvasya bhuvanasya dhartrī pṛthivī*
> *yaccha pṛthivīṁ dṛṇha pṛthivīm mān himsī.* — *Yajurveda* 13.18
>
> *Oṁ*! You are the earth, the ground, you are the all-sustaining who supported the world. Control the earth, steady the earth, cause no injury.

In the verse the symbolism gets extended: the Earth goddess (Bhū Devī) and the goddess who supports the world (Jagaddhātrī) are symbolically linked. In its broadest sense, Aditi is the expansive heaven thought to be the supporter of earth. The altar too symbolizes the vast manifest cosmos of space and time in which the earth resides.

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[26] A small spoon that is a part of the set of the larger *yoni*-shaped container, *kośa* which contains water. All ritual offerings are made with water from this vessel.

The *purohita* then sprinkles the five grains — paddy, wheat, barley, sesame and mustard. The grains themselves represent the Goddess as germinal forms of an expected harvest.

> *oṁ dhinuhi devān dhinuhi yajñam*
> *dhinuhi yajña patim dhinuhi mām yajañyam*
> — *Vājsaneyī-Saṁhitā* 1.20; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.1.18
>
> *Oṁ*! Nourish the gods, nourish the oblation, nourish the lords of the oblation, nourish me, the sacrificer too.

On placing the *ghaṭa* on the altar the *purohita* recites,

> *oṁ ājighra kalaśam mahyā tvā viśāntvindavaḥ*
> *punarūrjā nivarttasva sānaḥ sahasraṁ dhukṣvorudhārā payasvatī pūnarmā viśatādṛayiḥ*
> — *Vājsaneyī Saṁhitā* 8.42a; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.5.8.6
>
> *Oṁ*! Smell the vat. Let Soma drops pass into you, O Mighty One. Return again with store of sap. Pour for us wealth in thousands with full broad streams and floods of milk. Let riches come again to me.

The pot represents the body of the Goddess, the abundant earth in all her glory containing the waters of all the oceans and rivers within her. To this end the *purohita* fills the pot till its neck with water

> *oṁ varuṇasyotthambhanamasi varuṇasya skambha sarjaniṣṭhaḥ*
> *varuṇasya ṛtasadanyāsī varuṇasya ṛtasadanyāsī varuṇasya ṛtasadanamasīda*
> — *Vājsaneyī-Saṁhitā* 4.36; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.4.25
>
> *Oṁ*! You are a prop for Varuṇa to rest on. You are the pins that strengthen Varuṇa's pillar. You are the lawful seat where Varuna sits. Sit on the lawful seat where Varuṇa sits.

The water symbolizes all liquid elements in creation. It incorporates the symbolism of all the sacred female river goddesses, such as the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī. It is the sap of life that flows through all things.

Ideally, in the next step, five jewels (*pañcaratna*) are to be placed into the water. Normally, five tiny filings of gold are sprinkled into it as a substitute. This procedure is occasionally completely omitted as the cost of staging such *pūjās* escalates. The jewels symbolize the treasure and wealth within creation.

In this manner, it recalls the goddess Śrī who symbolizes material bounty and riches.

The mouth of the pot is then decorated with five kinds of leaves (*pañcapallava*). These are mango, banyan, fig, *pīpala*, *aśoka*, and *yajñadumbara* (a twig commonly used in fire oblations). The number five, used in the selection of grains, jewels, and leaf-bearing twigs symbolizes the diversity of creation. Most obvious is the notion of the gross elements (*bhūta*, *tattva*), but there are numerous such collections in the Hindu tradition. By way of synecdochic substitution many ritualists use only mango leaves instead of the prescribed variety. It must be remembered that the Goddess is also Śākambharī, so it is not just the *bilva* tree in which she is invoked. The twigs and the sap that flow through them symbolize fecundity in the life process. The *purohita* then utters:

> *oṁ dhanvanā gā dhanvanājim jayema*
> *tivrāḥ samado jayema*
> *dhanuḥ śatrorapakāmam kṛṇoti dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema*
> — *Ṛgveda*, 675.2a
>
> *Oṁ*! With bow let us win kine, with bow the battle, with bow be victors in our hot encounters.
>
> The bow brings grief and sorrow to the foeman: armed with the bow may we subdue all regions.

He then places a fruit (*phala*), ideally a green coconut, on the pot. Ideally, the coconut should possess the stem with which it is attached to the palm tree. This stem is regarded as a sign of the Devī's creative function. The coconut serves as the head of the Goddess's body, which is being gradually constructed. It represents the fruition of the growth initially symbolized by the twig-bearing leaves. The coconut is frequently offered to the Goddess in her temples. As such it has often been identified as a sacrificial substitute for a human or animal head. Yet, it is also evident that the coconut is a symbol of the Devī's own head, which is offered back to her. The notion of the Devī's self-decapitation is clearly illustrated in images of the Tāntric goddess Chinnamastā, where streams of nourishing blood flow from the goddess's severed neck into her own mouth and into the mouths of her attendants. While placing the coconut, the *purohita* says:

> *oṁ yāḥ phalinī ryā aphalā apuṣpā yaśca puṣpinīḥ*
> *bṛhaspati prasūtāstā no muñcatvaṁ hasaḥ*
> — *Ṛgveda*, 10.97.15

> *Oṁ*! Let fruitful plants and the fruitless, those that blossom, and the blossomless, urged onward by Bṛhaspati, release us from our pain and grief.

In the above-mentioned sections of *bodhanam* and *ghaṭasthāpanā*, we see that the tenor of the verses is āgamic (Vedic) in nature. In the next purificatory rite like the *bhūtaśuddhi* the tenor is specifically Tāntric.

The purificatory rites essentially are a two-fold procedure — the *śuddhi*s in which the defilements of the mundane body are removed, followed by the *nyāsa*s in which the worshipper is recreated in the image of the deity. The purificatory rites in Vedic or Tāntric rituals begin early in the morning with the obligatory ablutionary rites like bathing, *sandhyā*, etc. These acts precede the main *pūjā* and are often taken for granted. Within the ritual, the process is more pronounced in the two microsystems of rites called *bhūtaśuddhi* and *nyāsa*. *Bhūtaśuddhi* or purification of elements involves visualizing and redefining the body of the worshipper by a process through *mantra* and *mudrā* symbolically, re-enacting the destruction of the cosmos (*pralaya*), and the absorption of the basic elements into the body of the worshipper. *Bhūtaśuddhi* is perhaps the oldest and most tenacious form of mantric identification that is incidentally a common obligatory observance in Vedic, Tāntric and Buddhist Tāntric rites. Bharati defines *bhūtaśuddhi* as,

> . . . a step-by-step dissolution of grosser into subtler elements in the cosmographical hierarchy and culminates in a visualised merger with whatever Supreme Being or state the particular tradition postulates. In this rite, which is a congeries of thoroughly standardized mantras and mudras, a process of gradual involution is thought to take place whereby at first the body is identified with its various elementary sources.
>
> — Bhāratī 112

The "various elementary sources" that Bhāratī talks of are earth, which is associated with the sense of smell, water associated with taste, fire with sight, air with touch and ether with sound. The process from then on is all about linking one concept to the other. The individual functions of the sensual or the subtle body (*liṅgaśarīra*) merge one by one into their sources. The priest then identifies the last element (ether) with its *tanmātra* (element principle) which in this case is "sound" and ego/self (*ahaṁkāra*). The ego is identified with *mahat*,[27] which is further seen in *prakṛti* (primal nature, *śakti*, consciousness). *Prakṛti* is identified with *Brahman*, the absolute and neutral deity. Some Tāntric texts use the first person indicative *mantras* to describe what the worshipper sees happening in *bhūtaśuddhi*. The worshipper has to visualize his body being dried up by the wind, burnt by cosmic fire, extinguished with earth and the resultant ashes being washed away by water, completing the process of purification (Wheelock, 102). The actual transformation in *bhūtaśuddhi* is wrought by the multiple repetitions of a series of non-sentences, *bīja mantras*. These monosyllabic vocables are considered to be sonic manifestations of basic cosmic powers, seeds of the fundamental constituents of the universe. The *bīja*s are a series of semi-vowels in the Sanskrit alphabet.

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[27] Bhāratī interprets *mahat* as "the cognitive torus of the cosmos."

Air is *ya*
Fire is *ra*
Earth is *la*
Water is *va*
Ether is *ha*

To create the *bījas*, *sadā* and *bindu* are added to the semi-vowels so the *bīja* for *irā* (air) is *yaṁ*, *agnibīja* is *raṁ*, *jalabīja* is *vaṁ*, *dharābīja* is *laṁ* and *vyomabīja* is *haṁ* respectively. Thus when one meditates on *yaṁ*, the *irābīja* (*bīja* of wind), one needs to visualize the desiccation of the body, followed by *raṁ* standing for fire and so on. The same *bhūtaśuddhi* sequence of *bīja*s in a different form is used in *mānasopacāra pūjā*s. For instance as model of the same in Mahākāla *śaṁ pūjā* would be,

> *Laṁ* I give scent to the self of Earth
> *Haṁ* Give flowers to the self of Ether
> *Yaṁ* Give incense to the self of Air
> *Raṁ* Give flame to the self of Fire
> *Vaṁ* I give water to the self of water.[28]

What happens, as far as the initiated in the tradition is concerned, is that,

> [He] is affected in five different ways giving rise in him to the sensations of hearing (*śabda*); feel by which is experienced the thermal quality of things (*sparśa*); colour and form (*rūpa*); taste (*rasa*); and smell (*gandha*). The cause of these are the five *bhūta*s [ether, air, fire, water and earth respectively] which in the general cosmic evolution, are derived from the *tanmātrā*s or general elements of the particulars of sense perception. These again together with

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[28] Mike Magee (tr.), "The Sun and Planets (Graha)" in www.clan.ufl.edu/users/gthursby/tantra, 1996.

> the senses (*indriyas*) or faculties of mind operating through a particular physical organ or their instrument and *Manas*, the mental faculty of attention, selection and synthesis of the discrete manifold, derive from the still more general aspects of the Cosmic Mind or *Antaḥkaraṇa* which are the personal forms of limited experience respectively called *Ahaṁkāra* and *Buddhi*. These again are evolutes from that form *śakti* which is *prakṛti-tattva* and which in the 36 *tattvas* scheme comes into being through the instrumentality of Maya *śakti* from the preceding *tattvas* of pure creation extending from *śuddha vidyā* to Śiva-*śakti tattva*, the *svarūpa* of the last being *saccidānanda* or Pure Spirit. Matter is thus a manifestation or aspect of spirit. — Woodroffe, 143

What Bhāratī had mentioned earlier, is explained by Avalon in this context. Structurally, though apparently the *bījas* of *bhūtaśuddhi* are considered to be non-sentential semantic markers, at the deep structure level they are the first-person indicative statements. To explain this further, when the priest or enunciant says *raṁ* for instance, the worshipper is implicitly making the statement "I am (or have become) fire." To this Wheelock says that, "such *bījas*, then, emphatically assert the consecrated nature of the ritual performer" (Wheelock, 103).

Following this, to eradicate all negatives or sins, a *mantra* aimed at driving them out is chanted. This is anthropomorphically visualized as the Black man or any "uncanny phantom" (Bhāratī, 113). This process finally leads to the progressive merger with the "ultimate," which is incidentally the purpose of any Tāntric rite. Since identification or introjection is the essence and actual purpose of any *mantra*, the eradication of sin takes the worshipper that much closer to the "ultimate reality."

In case of the Durgā-Pūjā, the *purohita* embarks upon the purification of the gross material elements of the body (*bhūtaśuddhi*) after the *bodhana*, *ghaṭasthāpanā*, *bhūtāpasāraṇa* (removal of inimical spirits) and *prāṇāyāma* (control of the vital airs) are done at the onset of the *pūjā*. The five *bhūtas* are connected with five of the body's energy vortices (*cakras*). Thus, *mūlādhāra* is associated with *pṛthvī*, *svādhiṣṭhāna* with *jala*, *maṇipūra* with *agni*, *anāhata* with *vāyu*, and *viśuddhi* with *ākāśa*. The *purohita* sits cross-legged in the full-lotus posture (*padmāsana*), and taking water in the palm of his right hand, encircles his entire body conceiving it to be a wall of fire. He then places his right palm over the left on his lap. Uttering the *mantra*, "*so 'ham* (I am this)," he conceptually and emotionally leads the limited self (*jīvātman*, which is said to abide in the centre of the heart like the flame of a lamp (visualized as a bud of a flower), to the thousand-petalled lotus (*sahasrāra*) approximately located at the top of the head. He does this by arousing the coiled, serpentine energy, *kuṇḍalinī* that abides in the *mūlādhāra cakra*. He allows the *kuṇḍalinī* to snake upwards along the central energy channel (*suṣumnā*). On its journey, the awakened *kuṇḍalinī* traverses the lower energy *cakras* until it reaches the heart *cakra* (*anāhata*), from where the limited self (*jīvātman* or *jīvaśiva*) is carried up by her[29] to the *sahasrāra*. The thousand-petalled lotus is conceived of as facing downwards, symbolizing in one conception the varied and manifold creation descending from the single supreme unmanifest reality. The *jīvātman*, therefore, unites with the *paramātman* in the pericarp of the lotus.

During the raising of *kuṇḍalinī*, the *purohita* conceives that the (1) earth has been dissolved in water; (2) water in fire; (3) fire in air; (4) air in ether; (5) ether in sound; (6) sound in form; (7) form in taste; (8) taste in touch; (9) touch in smell; (10) smell goes to rest in the nose; (11) the nose goes to rest in the tongue; (12) the tongue goes to rest in the eye; (13) the eye goes to rest in the skin; (14) the skin goes to rest in the ear; (15) the ear goes to rest in the mouth (organ of speech); (16) which in turn dissolves into (17) the hands; (18) the feet; (19) the arms; (20) the generative organ, all of which rest in; (21) matter or the sentient, *prakṛti* (the primordial energy); then (22) mind (*manas*); (23) the self or ego (*ahaṁkāra*); and (24) intellect (*buddhi*). The subtle essence of each of these twenty-four elements or states (*tattvas*) is conceived as dissolving finally into the supreme reality (*paramātman*). This supreme reality is also envisioned, *á la* the Tāntric system as the union of the goddess *kuṇḍalinī* with the supreme Śiva (*paramaśiva*) or is thought of monodualistically as the Primal Power (*ādiśakti*). This act is one of a deep and profound meditation. The *purohita* next proceeds to perform another *prāṇāyāma* of the *bhūtaśuddhi* ritual.

Taking the seed syllable (*bīja*) *yaṁ*, the *purohita* exhales air from the left nostril, thinking it to be smoky coloured. He similarly does exhalations from the right nostril too with the same *bīja*, repeating the process sixteen times. During the period of breath retention, when both nostrils are held, the *purohita* utters these four *mantras*

> *oṁ mūla śṛṅgata cirah suṣumnā pathena jīvaśivam paramaśivapade yojayāmi svāhā* ।
>
> *Om*! I unite the *jīvaśiva* to the *paramaśiva* from the head of the basic triangle through the channel of *suṣumnā* with the utterance of *svāhā*.

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[29] *kuṇḍalinī* is personified as a goddess.

> *oṁ yaṁ liṅgaśarīram śoṣaya śoṣaya svāhā* ।
>
> *Oṁ*! May the subtle body be burned up with the utterance of *yaṁ* and *svāhā*.

He then takes the *bīja raṁ* and inhales it with the colour red through the right nostril to a count of four. Holding the *bīja raṁ* with the breath, he visualizes a sinful person (*pāpapuruṣa*) residing in his body. This *pāpapuruṣa*, generally visualized on the left side of the belly is then vividly imagined to be burned by the *bīja raṁ* while the breath is held. Upon exhalation to a count of eight, the *purohita* visualizes the ashes of the destroyed sinner being ejected from the left nostril.

> *oṁ raṁ saṅkośā śarīram dāha dāha svāhā* ।
>
> *Oṁ*! May the limited body be burnt up with the utterance of *raṁ* and *svāhā*.

Then inhaling in from the left nostril, he manifests a white coloured *bīja* of the moon, *yaṁ*. This moon is visualized on the forehead (in the place of the third eye). He manifests the *bīja vaṁ* during the breath retention and *laṁ* to steady his body. Finally the *purohita* utters,

> *oṁ paramaśiva suṣumnā pathena mūla sṛṅgataṁ ullāsollasat ullasat jvala jvala prajvala prajvala haṁ saḥ so 'ham svāhā* ।
>
> *Oṁ*! Let *Paramaśiva* through the channel of *suṣumnā* make the base triangle radiate and radiate, get it inflamed, properly inflamed with the syllables *haṁ saḥ* to become reversed and take the form *so 'ham* (I am that).

Not only in Tāntric but also in āgamic thought it is believed that every human being constantly utters *so* while inhaling and *haṁ* with exhalation, in the process uttering *so 'ham* all his life. In the case of fully realized beings the *s* and *h* vanishes and all that remains is the sound of *auṁ/oṁ*. This is said to occur when one moves away from the pulsating dualism of inhalation and exhalation to the state of singular vibration (*auṁ/oṁ*), which transcends life and death.

This process of *bhūtaśuddhi* is said to recompose the body. Originally made up of gross and subtle elements, the body is constituted of pure nectar as the goddess *kuṇḍalinī* rises and unites with the supreme Śiva in the *sahasrāra*. This pure nectar that runs back down the purified body is akin to the discharge of their combined procreative fluid from the supreme union. When it reaches back down to the level of the lowest *cakra* (i.e., *mūlādhāra* or *pṛthivī*), it becomes solidified. The body is then regarded as immaculate and composed of adamantine substance.

In Conclusion . . .

What is fairly evident in the brief examination of the litany of Durgā-Pūjā is the absolute syncretism of āgamic and Tāntric knowledge systems, separated in time and space and yet catering to the singular purpose of evoking the spirit of a *yajña* in a fairly modern context. One can go ahead and dwell on the entire litany and come up with amazing gems of confluence of tradition. If read carefully, one will even find elements of Tāntric Buddhism in the litany of the Durgā-Pūjā, for is not Tārā, one of the most revered goddesses in the land of Bengal, one of the most ancient *ḍākinī*s of Buddhist Tantra? What one has tried to posit through this paper is that the essence of the āgamic tradition has continued in quite an unbroken manner in the Śrauta and the Śmārtta literature. So much so that a profitable melding of it is still available to us in the form of the litany of Durgā-Pūjā. What more can one say of a syncretic tradition?

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Narrative as Epistemology in the Brāhmaṇa Texts

Atanu Bhattacharya

NARRATIVE as an epistemological tool found its rationalization in the Indian tradition in the hands of Bharata in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, where *nāṭya* or dramatic composition is claimed to be the fifth Veda (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 1.14-15). The conjunction of *kāvya* or literary expression with *śāstra* has been attested by a long line of Indian thinkers, including Mammaṭa, Kuntaka, Bhāmaha and Viśwanātha, who perceive the specific stylistic expression of *kāvya* as cognate with the goals of *śāstra*: the fulfilment of the *puruṣārtha*s. The construction of a relation between *kāvya* and a metaphysical effect of attaining *mokṣa* not only legitimized narrative as a distinct genre in its own right, but also assigned a distinctive role to it that was originally reserved for the *śruti*, *smṛti* and the *śāstra* texts. By the end of the sixth century CE with Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, narrative had become one of the accepted vehicles of knowledge-production. It must however, be distinguished from the instruments and objectives of knowledge-production in the West. In the Indian tradition, knowledge is not an end in itself; the justification of knowledge is its ability to uphold *dharma* or *ṛta*. Knowledge in itself is nothing, it is the contextual relevance that this knowledge creates that holds the key to *mokṣa*. In other words, narrative knowledge had an inherent potential to intervene and legitimize certain epistemological and ontological structures. It is this dimension of the narrative that this paper plans to explore with the help of certain *Brāhmaṇa* texts. The reason for choosing *Brāhmaṇa* texts is that in the Indian tradition, the *Brāhmaṇa*s along with the *Saṁhitā*s, comprise what is known as the *karma-kāṇḍa*, i.e., that section of ritual action that is primarily occupied with Vedic sacrifice. Thus, these texts are seldom studied in the tradition for their narrative richness, though *Brāhmaṇa*s serve as primary texts for the later expositions in *Āraṇyaka*s and Upaniṣads. The contention of this paper is that the Indian mind is essentially structured around the narrative, since it is the narrative epistemology that explains the ontological differences of this world. Narrative functions not only as an intervening medium of philosophical doctrines that explains and rationalizes it, but also is coeval with any and all discursive formations.

A word of caution, however: the distinction between narrative and philosophy, as embedded in the Greek distinction between *muthos* and *logos*, and as practised in the Western philosophical tradition, needs to be bracketed off, as it were, to understand the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. The distinction between *muthos* and *logos* in the West rests upon the dichotomy between ritualized expression and ritualized action. Myth is nothing but a stylized expression of an event. *Logos*, on the other hand, is the philosophical truth of that event. No such distinction exists in the Indian tradition, since the hiatus between action and expression is meaningless. Action is expression and no expression can be without an action. This paper investigates the coalescing of action and expression — narration and ritual — in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts.

The *Brāhmaṇa*s constitute a distinctive genre of Vedic composition. It is safe to assume that the bulk of the *Brāhmaṇa*s was composed between the tenth and sixth centuries BC. The *Brāhmaṇa*s along with the *Saṁhitā*s comprise the *karma-kāṇḍa* as opposed to the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* comprising of the *Āraṇyaka*s and Upaniṣads. Interestingly the word *Brāhmaṇa* is derived from *Brahman* which originally meant "potent word," *logos* in Western theology. Such a word was considered to be distinct from ordinary speech since it was supposed to be charged with mystico-magical powers: it could be creative, potent, curative, restorative, injurious or retributive. He who could utter and employ it properly in the course of rituals was a *Brahman* and the sum-total of all individual brāhmaṇas was collectively known as the *Brāhmaṇa*. What draws our attention in this etymological study of the word is that expressions and actions are a part of one indivisible whole. It is in the utterance that the magicality of the narrative lies; it is its realization in a context that a word acquires its potency.

Each Saṁhitā has one or more *Brāhmaṇa*s attached to it. The tradition defines the content of the *Brāhmaṇa*s as *vidhi* and *arthavāda*, injunction and explication. Injunctions consist of ritual "do's" and "dont's." The *arthavāda* section lays down rules for the course of ritual action to be adopted when two relevant rules on the subject are apparently contradictory; it guides by praising one course of action over another; explains ritual by myths and even occasionally by etymology. It is this section that concerns us in this paper. My contention is that the function of the narrative as an intervention, as decisive legitimizing principle, and as a medium for expressing or representing microcosmic events as they had been enacted in the macrocosm, was founded in the *Brāhmaṇa*s and the entire narrative tradition that follows takes the Brāhmaṇic framework of the narrative as a legitimizing principle.

One of the major pre-occupations of the *Brāhmaṇa*s is to establish the purpose of the sacrifice. Quite frequently, we have texts which say; "the sacrifice left the gods saying, I shall not be your food"[1]; the gods then would have to placate the sacrifice and it is at this juncture, that narrative steps in. Quite often, a myth is narrated that resembles a similar situation and the solution appended to the myth is the solution enjoined for the sacrifices in the particular context. For example, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is replete with long prose formulas repeated *ad infinitum* and myths with the specific purpose of justifying each single ritual detail — gesture, form, shape, size, number, colour, time, season and manner; for each of them a minor myth is invented. The narrative operates as the explicatory other to the *vidhi*s; it acts as an intervention as well as a legitimation.

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* makes an important observation as regards the presence of narratives in these texts: "The impure version of the Vedas became *gāthā*s and *nārāsaṁśī*s."[2] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* throws further light in the statement: "The tales narrated by the Hotṛ priest who was invited by the Adhvaryu to sit on a cushion of gold brocade and recount tales during the *aśvamedha* year are called the *pariplāva ākhyāna*s."[3] Both these statements validate the importance of narrative in the texts. Mere performance of a ritual was not enough; it was obligatory on the sacrificer's part to know the tale that accompanied it since the ritual gained epistemological legitimacy from the narrative.

It is primarily due to the centrality of the narrative mode in the *Brāhmaṇa*s that *vāc* or the spoken word plays a major role in many of the myths. In fact, the contradiction between speech and mind that would occupy a luminous position in the Upaniṣadic debates, finds its first formulation here. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* recounts a tale where *vāc* and *manas* come into conflict. Because

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1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I.18.
2. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.3.2.6.
3. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII.4.3.

Prajāpati decided in favour of the mind, *vāc* cursed Prajāpati and said she would never carry his oblation; therefore, when Prajāpati's oblation are offered the words are uttered *sotto voce*.[4] This short tale evinces the two functions that narrative plays in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts:

(a) it highlights the power of *vāc* that can curse as great a god as Prajāpati, thereby bringing forth the potency of the spoken word, and

(b) it legitimizes a microcosmic event (offering the oblation to Prajāpati) by correlating it to a macrocosmic order (cursing of Prajāpati by Vāc).

The narrative both intervenes and legitimizes. It is these twin functions that govern also all narratives of the *Brāhmaṇas*. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, another myth reinstates the power of the narrative:

> Suparṇī and Kadrū created *vāc* through magic. Then Gāyatrī flew to soma, Viśvāvasu stole it. The gods sent *vāc* for Gāyatrī, the Gandharvas said, "Soma is yours, *vāc* ours." The gods said, "But if she would rather come hither do not carry her by force." The Gandharvas wooed her, played the lyre, sang, danced, played with her and entertained her, she stayed there.[5]

The trading of Vāc with Soma — speech with ritual oblation — marks a distinctive phase in the development of Vedic religion. The *Brāhmaṇas* represent a mediation between a ritualistic, pluralist culture of the Vedas and the contemporary monistic culture of the *Āraṇyakas* and Upaniṣads; they represent the intermediary stage where knowledge-production by ritualistic action is being slowly replaced by the epistemology of narrative itself. The narrative is taking over as a principle of legitimacy itself. This transition of narrative as action, to narrative as epistemology, is captured in a myth in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, which relates how when *vāc* escaped the gods, the gods divided it into the drum, the lute, the axle and in the bow-string. Therefore, it became the sweetest sound, the speech of trees and gods.[6] The usurpation of ritual action by instruments of music, labour and kinship delineates the rise of the narrative mode as a valid epistemology in itself.

The tension between knowledge derived from ritual action and knowledge derived from the narrative is palpable in the *Brāhmaṇas*. An oblation in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* begins thus:

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[4] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I.4.5.8-12.

[5] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.2.4.1-7.

[6] *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, VII.6.2.

> A thousands we give thee, O Yājñavalkya, in whom we have found the Mitrāvinda. He finds ($\sqrt{vid}$) Mitra and his is the glory. He conquers recurring deaths, and gains all life who *performs this* or *who* thus knows it.[7]

Knowledge is posited as a valid substitute for ritual action but this knowledge is essentially narrative in nature.

The narratives in the *Brāhmaṇa*s laid out the philosophical and metaphysical basis of ritual actions. Since ritual action in themselves had lost their original significance by the time the last of the *Brāhmaṇa*s were composed, the composers realized the necessity of legitimizing the discourse of sacrifice and this could be achieved only through the intervention of the narrative mode. Thus, though they were considered as the impure portion of the Veda, they were rigorously used to bestow sanctity and legitimacy to rituals. It was through the narrative that *dharma* and *ṛta* could be upheld. And it was these twin functions of intervention and legitimation that the narrative was to enjoy in the Indian tradition, uninterrupted for a long period of time, be it the Nala-Damayantī myth in *Mahābhārata,* the Naciketā-Yama episode in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* or the Ratnākar-Vālmikī episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* An unbroken tradition of narrative as an epistemological tool shows this phenomenon. It is the *Brāhmaṇa*s that brought narrative to the centre of Indian consciousness. The plethora of narrative forms within the space of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts is sufficient evidence of the significance of narrative as an epistemological tool: *purāṇa*s, *gāthā, ākhyāna, nārasaṁśī* (encomia) and *vākovākya* (dialogues). In fact, the importance accorded to these narratives is recorded in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII 4.3) where the *hotṛ* priest is invited by the Adhvaryu to sit on a cushion of gold brocade and recount, during the *aśvamedha* year, tales that are called the *pāriplava ākhyāna*s. These tales were expected to raise the moral level of the sacrificing king. The importance of the narrative to communicate Vedic truths is self-evident here.

A common technique in the *Brāhmaṇa*s is to praise each part, ingredient, implement, act, priest, hymn or element as all-important to solicit blessings and benefits from it. The altar is praised as the sanctuary of the gods. To it, for example, the prayer is offered:

> Do not injure us, you are Viṣṇu's head, the seat of renown; bestow renown on me.[8]

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[7] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* VI.4.4.20.

[8] *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa,* I.1.7-8.

The details of ritual grow in symbolic importance and sometimes controversies are recorded over the performance of a certain ritual. One is confounded by the sheer minutiae of details in these texts. It must be remembered, however, that for the mind which spoke, formulated and understood the mythical language, nothing was negligible, for the myth and the ritual was conceived of as a composite whole, and not distinctive as *mythos* and *logos* in the West, and, therefore, each detail had an indispensable and inalienable validity. It is this inalienable validity of the narrative consciousness that continues as an unbroken tradition even today. And this is the greatest contribution of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

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Folk Wisdom and Environmental Crisis

A Contemporary Case Study from the Western Himālayas

Raghubir Singh Pirta

Introduction

In their pursuit to search universal laws of behaviour, psychologists are indifferent to flourishing societies and cultures in diverse terrain. As a consequence of this, the public image of psychology as a helping profession remains a mirage (Misra & Gergen, 2002; Paniagua, 2001; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1999; WHO, 2001). These contextual variables, for instance, are important as they provide "developmental niche" for a child or have significance in creating antecedent conditions for harmony and conflict in the groups. Conflicts are not new; they have evolutionary as well as cultural past. However, changes in inner and outer contextual features drastically affect the nature of conflicts and their resolution. A conflict arises when two activities are incompatible. It may occur within the individual, which is termed as intrapsychic conflict. But more important for us here are conflicts originating due to incompatible actions between two or more groups. The perception and resolution of conflicts can also vary according to the approach. Two examples are here. When India was facing the challenge of its survival and was in turmoil due to social conflicts, Sri Aurobindo, the great philosopher, in his prophetic words envisaged the union of all streams so that:

> One mighty river, one purifying and redeeming Ganges, pour it over the death-in-life of a materialistic humanity as Bhagiratha led down the Ganges and flooded with it the ashes of his fathers, so that there may be a resurrection of the soul in mankind and the *Satyayuga* for a while return to the world.
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> — SABCL, vol. 16: 430

There is yet another important dimension that cuts across individual as well as group conflicts, which includes conflicts between individual and collective interests. They are called "social dilemmas" or "social traps." Our environmental problems generally have conflicts between individual and collective preferences. One of India's well-known ecologists, Madhav Gadgil, has explored this dimension following a remarkably imaginative, yet scientific, perspective. He writes,

> India abounds in local deities which are specific to a given village or sets of villages or to a specific endogamous group restricted to a relatively limited geographical area, or both. One often finds associated with such deities a rich body of folklore which can illuminate the history of human groups that worship these deities. Such folklore can be particularly fascinating when it appears to have its origin in conflicts of interests amongst the different human groups.
>
> — Gadgil, 2001: 164

These two perspectives, the first one by a philosopher and the second one by an ecologist, are important for psychologists if they want to understand the essence of environmental problems faced by India and intend to find out solutions for them. The following account provides glimpses of the environmental conflicts between natives of the western Himālayas and the proponents of modern development.

The legendary Bhāgīrathī, the Gaṅgā, has an integral association with the body and the soul of Indians. They also cherish a similar relationship with the Himālayas. In recent years, the Gaṅgā and the Himālaya have been facing the invasion of economic development policies. As a result of this the very nature of the Himālayas or the Gaṅgā has been changing physically as well as in the psyche of Indians. The consequences of such changes will have detrimental effects, not only on our vision of the revered mountains and rivers, but also on our cultural heritage. It may also prove to be a threat to the survival of human beings. Those interventions have some correlation with shrinking of forest cover, drying of water sources, increase in soil erosion, receding glaciers and scarcity of medicinal plants. We have failed to reverse these trends. Thus, on one hand the dynamic balance among the components of the ecosystem is changing and on the other hand it has an intrinsic relation with the overall development of people living in those mountainous regions.

For instance, the construction of the large dams in the Himālayas has raised several important issues in recent past, particularly the rehabilitation of ousted people has become a significant humanitarian problem. In India, since 1950, the big dams have usurped a significant proportion of land belonging to the highlanders of the river valleys of the western Himālayas (Bahuguna, 1978; Bhatt, 1992; Valdiya, 1992). This situation is aggravated due to an apathetic attitude towards the social and psychological trauma faced by the ousted people. None the less, the construction of large dams is going on in total disregard for the aspirations of the native people, virtually making a mockery of the holistic approach to development. Unfortunately, the technocrats look to maximize profits accruing from the megawatts of hydroelectric power. In this process millions of "developmental refugees" are created by large dams, as a result of which people have become averse to such kind of development.

Contemporary thinkers of India (Chaitanya, 2000; Chidananda, 1987; Dharampal, 1993; Misra, 1994; Thakar, 1989) point out that the mysterious East has a potential to contribute in various fields of psychology, non-material as well as material, but it is not interesting enough for psychologists in India. It is a matter of great concern that the latter have even neglected the environmental issues troubling people (Sinha, 1997). For example, issues such as displacement, rehabilitation and aversive attitude towards big dams are not important for psychologists in India. However, scientists from other disciplines point out that the present developmental process has severe negative consequences on the behaviour of the individual and community. The process of development has various aspects that can be evaluated in the context of the well-being of people. For India, "much of the task that Nehru had identified remains largely unaccomplished" (Sen, 1997) if we consider the *constitutive* elements of well-being rather than the *utilitarian* elements. They signify a "mental state" view and the "desire-fulfilment" respectively (Sen, 1999).

The thinking of environmentalists is converging on a point that the wrong developmental paradigms in Third World countries like India create situations of inequality and exploitation that lead to frustration and rebellion among people (Gadgil & Guha, 1995). Speaking "of the more holistic or comprehensive cognition of those at the receiving end of the present world system" Nandy (1998) warns about new forms of violence and injustice in concepts such as development, growth, history, science and technology. They may be used as tools of oppression within the same region and at the hands of people within. Studies relating to natives of Garhwal and Kumaon in the western Himālayas (Bora, 1996; Hoon, 1996), where two large dams are coming up, point to the hollowness of the policies of development. It is time that psychologists in India realized that ecological factors have greater social relevance than intrapsychic forces (Sinha, 1982).

But a lot more disturbing is a misconception in the minds of materialists that the social relations follow the same laws as particles of matter. The fault partly lies with social scientists, who in order to give their discipline the hue of a science, borrowed materialist principles and methods (Bandyopadhay, 2001). It is also true that the physical scientists and the technocrats, being individuals living in a society, develop a false sense of complacence that they understand social phenomena. They, however, dilute the very nature of the social concepts (Sen, 1995). Behavioural scientists must make physical scientists realize that displacement and rehabilitation involve social and psychological factors and thus the technical solution is not the sole issue. The emphasis on material is not enough (Varadarajan, 1998) and therefore psychological factors need incorporation in the economic paradigm (Sen, 1997). For instance, people in general adapt physically to environmental changes but psychologically they are likely to face problems. Perhaps this is true in the case of displaced people who are apparently normal but have strong feelings of disgruntlement with the whole system.

Ecological psychologists consider "behaviour settings" as primary determinants of action (Barker, 1968; Wicker, 1979). Today, these behaviour settings are insecure, yet many factors compel a fairly large number of citizens towards them. One such factor is the construction of large dams in the Himālayas and other parts of India, which is causing displacement of people from their native habitat. Ousted people live in behaviour settings that are impoverished in comparison to their native habitats and in settings that expose them to a whole set of unknown dangers. When people come in contact with the dominant culture, the acculturation starts, which is stressful (Kakar, 1995; Mishra, Sinha & Berry, 1996; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1999). Ousted people, for various reasons, are prone to such stress. A large population of these people has accumulated since 1950s who have been displaced from their native habitats. In India there are at least 20 million oustees of big dams and irrigation projects (Fernandes, Das & Rao, 1989; Roy, 1999). The breakdown of social support system and the separation from loved objects also occur during the process of displacement due to large dams. These two factors, along with acculturation have probably negative effects on the mental health of displaced people.

Historically, in the mountains, people have settled along river valleys. A rich diversity of culture sprouted along these rivers and adjacent mountain landscape (Joshi, Gadgil & Patil, 1993; Singh, 1998, Singh, 2002). None the less, the modern policy of development with an attendant strong drive to harness natural resources of the Himālayas, for example forests for timber and rivers for hydroelectricity, is heading for a civilization's collapse. It involves denudation of hill slopes and inundation of living habitat. Since Independence, a large-scale intensification of these two "developmental activities" has been taking place in the western Himālayas, while planners have been showing scant regard for an integrated vision of life. All this has been going on in total disregard for the aspirations of native people. This situation is aggravated due to an apathetic attitude towards the social and psychological trauma and injustice faced by the native people. Conceivably, it perpetuated into a reformist attitude among the natives of the Garhwal Himālayas.

The above description presents a grim scenario of the developmental paradigm in the western Himālayas. It is based on an incorrect understanding that social relations are physical relations, coupled with insecure behaviour settings, acculturative stress, and breakdown of social support system, which negatively affects social and psychological well-being of people. The natives of Garhwal, in the western Himālayas, experienced these negative consequences, which provoked them against these developmental processes. The natives perceived these processes unsustainable because it exhausted natural resources, made livelihood miserable and threatened future generations. The first move of natives was to resist logging operations denuding the green cover from hill slopes, followed by a struggle against the large-scale technological interventions in the Himālayas symbolized by big dams. During these struggles, the environmental consciousness of native people gradually crystallized into a holistic approach to development that has been articulated here in the form of a cognitive model. However, before presenting the local people's model, it would be appropriate to introduce some theoretical orientations that have relevance to the resolution of environmental conflicts in the Indian context.

A theoretical orientation that has been successfully applied in India is the one evidenced in the work of Madhav Gadgil, an eminent ecologist. His interests span from mathematical modelling of the communities of plants, animals and humans on the one hand and naturalistic observations on the sacred groves and local deities to study conflict of interests among human groups on the other. In the 1980s, Gadgil (1982) provided an original perspective on ontogenetic changes in social behaviour, which is strongly rooted in evolutionary history. The evolutionary approach has potential to help us in predicting the consequences of modern environments, which are moving away from the environment of evolutionary adaptedness, on mental and physical health (Gazzaniga, 1994; Williams & Nesse, 1991). He uses the evolutionary approach to understand the organization and change in Indian society (Gadgil, 1991; Gadgil & Guha, 1993), and then transcends to learn from tradition of Indian and contemporary grassroots movements (Gadgil & Guha, 1995) for the preservation of environment (Gadgil, 2001; Gadgil & Rao, 1998).

Second theoretical orientation comes from a group of psychologists who are studying various cultures in different parts of world, including India. It was Sinha who started work on this paradigm in India (Sinha, 1979), however, J.W. Berry originally presented it in 1976 in the form of an eco-cultural model. Since then a lot of evidence has been collected, which supports the assumptions of this model (Mishra, 2000). These cross-cultural psychologists point out that, "psychology in general continues to ignore culture as a source of influence on human behaviour and still takes little account of theories and data from other than Euro-American cultures" (Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1999). The theoretical model incorporates contextual variables, social and cultural, which dynamically interact with ecological variables and lead to cultural and biological adaptations in populations of human beings. Some examples are here. The link of eco-cultural context to cognitive style and cognitive development is very clear. Socialization practices mediate the influence of group-level variables on individual functioning. These socialization practices form the developmental niche and include the child rearing practices and the ethnotheories (folk psychology). In general, the eco-cultural variables affect the way we perceive the world. However, a cultural adaptation of the eco-cultural model (see Segall *et al.*, 1999) is needed and some attempts have already been made in India (Mishra, Sinha & Berry, 1996). A major drawback of this approach is its poor linkage with environmental policies and contemporary environmental movements. In other words, the ecocultural model enriches us in terms of ideas but there is very little about the people's problems.

A community-based holistic approach involves the study of group dynamics in theory and in real life situations. This approach incorporates various assumptions of the preceding two orientations, broadly signifying two divergent schools (Cunningham, 1981), sociobiology and social psychology. There was a time when scientists considered "individual" as real and "group" was considered mystical (Lewin, 1948; Wynne-Edwards, 1986). But now the notion is widely acceptable that group *per se* has characteristics and the behaviour of an individual is greatly influenced by the group to which he belongs. In later years, the applied value of group has become popular as "the tragedy of commons" (Hardin, 1968). The essential feature of the tragedy of commons is that short-term self-serving benefits create long-term mutual cost. This is a problem of interdependence among group members, known as the *social trap* (Cross & Guyer, 1980) which manifests itself in various forms, such as, the depletion of various resources, extinction of various species, and water and air pollution (Gadgil, 1985; Pirta, Gadgil & Kharshikar, 1997).

Therefore in the third theoretical orientation we assert that the essence of group is the interdependence of its members. The interdependence is that of promotive or cooperative nature rather than contrient or competitive interdependence. In other words a conflict can be resolved in two ways, through competitive actions or through cooperative actions. Cooperative interdependence is a basic characteristic of the group and is denoted by the concept of cohesiveness. In our field studies on the cooperative life of Indian monkey groups (Pirta, 1983, 1984a, b) we have arrived at the structure of interdependence for a primate group presented in *fig*. 1. Our observations in various habitats in India suggest that the predators, biological needs, and competition with other species are important factors for the **genesis** of a group. In the **development** of group, four activities have important functions, social play, social grooming, coalition formation and consort relations. And finally, the **maintenance** of the day-to-day peaceful life within the group involves cooperative attack, cooperative defence and assuaging behaviour.

We made further explorations into the nature of interdependence in a primate group by testing three hypotheses (originally proposed by Deutsch in 1949 for human groups): substitutability, positive cathexis and inducibility (Pirta, 1990; 2002). These hypotheses, respectively, predict that in a more cooperative (cohesive) group there would be more division of labour, greater friendliness, and more attentiveness to one another. While the work of Deutsch (1973) on human groups has been mostly carried out under imaginary situations, our studies on Indian monkeys (Pirta, 1990) and later on human populations (Pirta, 2001; 2003) deal with real scenarios of conflicts. These conflicts in human groups involve issues related to control over resources, specifically forest and water. However, preferences, beliefs and values of the parties always make these conflicts more complex. In this approach, besides ideas, people are a major focus of concern.

It is important to note that the observations of Dreze and Sen (2002) in *India: Development and Participation*, on cooperative action and social context, are complementary to the preceding theoretical orientation. For example, they suggest that:

> Social development in Himachal Pradesh (and also, to varying extents, in other parts of the Himalayan region) has been facilitated by a relatively favourable social context, which includes the comparative lack of sharp social disparities in village communities and a strong tradition of local cooperative action.
>
> — Dreze & Sen, 2002: 179

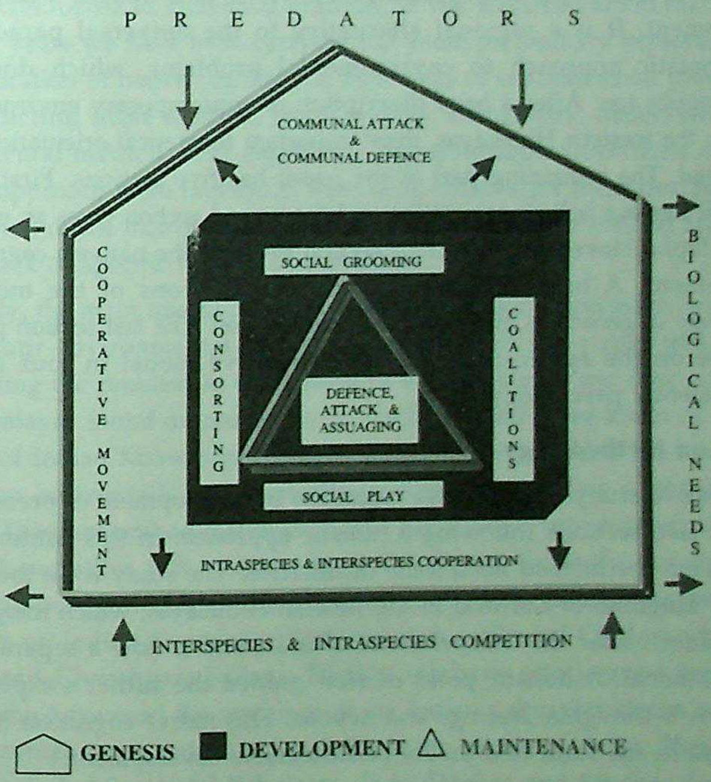

PREDATORS
COMMUNAL ATTACK & COMMUNAL DEFENCE
COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT
BIOLOGICAL NEEDS
SOCIAL GROOMING
CONSORTING
COALITIONS
DEFENCE, ATTACK & ASSUAGING
SOCIAL PLAY
INTRASPECIES & INTERSPECIES COOPERATION
INTERSPECIES & INTRASPECIES COMPETITION
GENESIS
DEVELOPMENT
MAINTENANCE

fig. **1. Structure of interdependence in a primate group.**

These economists have analysed various factors conducive to development in Himachal Pradesh, however, they did not notice the role of the institutions of local deities in hill society. Through these local deities, the primitive heroes become alive from folklore and mediate in the development and maintenance of cohesiveness among the people of the village and the region. There seems to be a great possibility that the institutions of local deities may serve as centers of community mental health care.

There are some important questions that we have to answer. We must find out how to arrive at non-coercive solutions to environmental problems. At the same time we have to search ways, how short-term individual interests can be sacrificed in favour of long-term common interests. However, the most important question is how to elicit voluntary participation of communities with conflicting interests in pro-environmental activities. Perhaps the people of Himālaya have answered these questions in their own way. The main objective of this paper is to present their views as a holistic paradigm of development. It is a regional alternative to the universal paradigm of reductionistic approach to environmental problems, which dominates psychologists too. After a brief description of contemporary environmental issues in the western Himālayas, three important theoretical orientations were introduced. The remaining part of the paper has five sections. First, a brief note indicates our holistic orientation and the second section gives an overview of the Chipko Movement. The third section presents the native's cognition of development. A brief discussion of the implications of the model for psychology in general is given in the fourth section. The last section provides evidence on the application of native cognitive model in four areas of environmental psychology.

A Note on Methodology

A qualitative study of the native cognition of development is presented in the next two sections following a holistic approach. In this context a few points about the method need some clarification. The study is on the natives of a tiny kingdom of Garhwal in the western Himālayas, which merged into Uttar Pradesh after the Independence of India and is now a separate state, the Uttaranchal. A holistic point of view guided the author's explorations into native's thoughts, feelings and actions. This native cognition has been articulated in the form of a model of sustainable development.

The native-non-native distinction used here is based on the assumption that a person who is the native of a region will think, feel and behave differently about its physical, social and other qualities, in comparison to a non-native. An explanation of concepts employed to present the native's cognition of development is given in the section "implications of the model for psychology," where we suggest some apparent relationships between the native's cognition and issues studied by social scientists. It is important to point out that the author's involvement with the native's struggle spans over a period of about twenty-five years. Thus the account presented here includes his reflections as a participant while observing and experiencing the life of the native people. He strongly identified himself with the natives while joining them in foot marches, attending their meetings, giving interviews on their behalf, speaking for their cause in seminars, and writing about their problems. Furthermore, his own experience as a native of western Himālayas has helped him in experiencing their "terrain" from a close range.

The application of the native model is examined here on the basis of our studies conducted in Himachal Pradesh, in the western Himālayas. For the last five years we have been carrying out some preliminary explorations on the application of native cognition in four areas of environmental psychology. In conducting these studies, introspective, naturalistic observation, and experimental method were employed, therefore some deviations from the holistic approach were inevitable. Two main reasons for these deviations are an aversion of the mainstream psychology for a qualitative method and partly due to lack of specific holistic methodology.

Lastly, the main question is how to use the Indian Knowledge Systems to resolve our environmental issues. It is implicit in this paper that we are formulating the problem in the context of the Himālayas and how natives of the Himālayas found an answer to it. We have used three kinds of indirect sources of Indian Knowledge Systems. First of all it included the knowledge passed on horizontally and vertically by living messengers — the common people. They are embodiments of Indian knowledge, which is expressed in their folk narration, folk tradition and folk religion. Secondly, our sources of Indian knowledge included the interpreters of the Texts and the sayings of the *guru*s on Indian Knowledge Systems, such as Swami Chidananda, Vimla Thakar and Ghanshyam Sailani. Thirdly, we have also learned from those people who have used the teachings of the Indian cultural tradition to resolve environmental issues, rather successfully at the grassroots level. They, among others, included Sunderlal Bahuguna, Indu Tikekar and Madhav Gadgil.

An Overview of the Chipko Movement

Natives of the Garhwal Himālayas became aware of mounting ecological crisis in the Himālayas several decades ago. In the 1970s some voluntary social workers picked up strands from the cultural heritage of India and neatly wove a grass-roots environmental campaign known as the Chipko (hug-to-the-tree) Movement (Bahuguna, 1974; Kunwar, 1982; Sarala Devi, 1980). The Chipko Movement has its origins in the environmental context of the Garhwal Himālayas, which were characterized by large-scale logging operations managed by private contractors. The peasants from remote villages of the western Himālayas rose up in peaceful revolt against government's logging policies that interfered with the calm but already hard life of the hill folk. The Man of the Trees, Richard St. Barbe Baker (1982) was the first person who paid tributes to thousands of Garhwali men and women by visiting their far-flung villages.

The natives of the Garhwal Himālayas followed a non-violent method of resistance to government's policies that flouted basic principles of their cognized model of development. The first phase of the environment movement, devoted to protect the Himālayan forests, continued from the 1970s up to the 1990s. During this period social workers of Chipko not only created an environmental consciousness but also convinced the government to make a drastic change in its forest policy. As a result, the government of India announced a ten-year moratorium on felling of green trees in the Himālayas in 1983, which was partially reviewed in 1993, but the ban has continued. After that the natives started a new struggle to save the whole mountain ecosystem of the Himālayas in the form of a broad-based *Himalaya Bachao Andolan* (Save Himalaya Movement). This movement focused its energy to prevent the construction of the Tehri Dam and to mobilize public opinion in favour of small hydroelectric projects (Pirta, 2001). While some social workers in the Henwal Ghāṭī, who had participated in Chipko, have chosen to save the traditional varieties of crops grown in the Himālayan region (Prasun, 1996), the others in Gopeshwar and Kumaon are, however, continuing their efforts to save the green cover of the hills.

The Chipko Movement has attracted the attention of social scientists from all over the world. One after the other, several intellectuals have climbed up the hills of the Garhwal Himālayas and have come back with different versions of the Chipko (Berreman, 1989; Guha, 1989; Rangan, 2001; Shiva & Bandyopadhyay, 1986; Weber, 1988). There should be no doubt about the academic excellence of those stories but it is unlikely that such stories help in the real cause, the "development" of the native people. Although the writers of those stories became "renowned environmentalists" (for a self-appraisal, see Rangan, 2001), the people still remain "natives" for them, not able to comprehend their analytic finesse. This raises a second and perhaps more relevant question. Are we really trying to understand the viewpoint of the native people? Those academic storytellers have analysed the role of natives with the *untested* propositions of *X*'s, *Y*'s and *Z*'s in the West. The natives, however, have at least tested their propositions.

The following section describes this indigenous approach to development, which originated during the native people's struggle to save the Himālayas. In the native's approach there is an awareness of the sustainability of life that encompasses besides the physical, its social, psychological and spiritual aspects, which are deeply-rooted in the Hindu world-view. The next section is an attempt to relate the main concepts of the native's model with those which are familiar in the mainstream psychology. In the last section I will examine the application of this approach in four areas of environmental psychology, on the basis of our research, that has social relevance for ecological problems in the Himālayas. The four areas are: creation of environmental consciousness among people, rehabilitation of oustees from big dams, appraisal of authoritarian policy for waste disposal, and exploration of the role of indigenous institutions of deities in community care service.

The Native Cognition of Sustainable Development

The native people of the Garhwal Himālayas perceive developmental process from a holistic point of view (*fig*. 2). In such a paradigm, the development of the individual as well as the community is important. For the normal functioning of the individual his head (knowledge), heart (compassion) and hands (actions) must function in harmony with one another during the mundane day-to-day activities and to achieve self-enlightenment, the ultimate goal. In this way one has to acquire, for example, such information as that oak trees are suitable for the Himālayan ecosystem. After this, one has to plant the oak species in preference to other species when there is an occasion, and finally, he must empathize with oak trees for their better growth and protection. Mira Behn was an embodiment of such knowledge, action and devotion. She was the one who perceived a link between the oak (*banj*) tree, the Himālayan ecosystem and the overall well-being of hill people. She has also been a source of inspiration for natives of the Garhwal Himālayas. At the community level "humanitarian" scientists, compassionate poets and writers, and social workers should work towards the attainment of welfare of all, living and non-living. Sarala Devi, another disciple of Gandhi, sacrificed her life for the people of the Himālayas. She had been running a school for girls and also initiated Sarvodaya workers in pro-environmental actions. Those Sarvodaya workers were later the forerunners of the Chipko Movement. They followed a holistic developmental approach and paid special attention to the cause of the poor section of the society. For instance, "Bimla Behn and her husband Sunderlal Bahuguna, it will be remembered, chose to set up their ashram in the Simiyana valley because of the high concentration of harijans in that area" (Alter, 2002: 122).

The native's cognition of development reminds modern man that his "material development" is a path towards *vikṛti* (destruction). That this is not intended to be a form of escapism should be clear from the call of Swami Chidananda (1987), a *saṁnyāsin* and a patron of the Chipko Movement: "We have to wake ourselves up and save the Himālayas and the Ganges." Chidananda (1991) explains that *prakṛti* has a dualistic nature. As a principle it afflicts *puruṣa*, and *yoga* has been especially developed to separate *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*. But the world all around us, with which we interact and feel happiness and sorrow, is also *prakṛti*, the mother who sustains us all. Indeed in this world, which is a manifestation of *prakṛti*, each person has to follow an order that sustains life (*dharma*), pursue some economic activity or transaction for day-to-day living (*artha*), participate in procreation (*kāma*), and, work for attainment of salvation (*mokṣa*).

The wisdom of the people of Himālaya is that air, water and soil are the main products of forest whereas for a silviculturist, forest is for timber. For the people of the Himālayas, believing means doing. It aptly describes the method of the Chipko social worker in creating environmental awareness. For example, the Chipko activist would show to the rural masses slides of the denuded countryside in the hills, of the depleted water sources, fodder scarcity, soil erosion, the floods in the rivers, etc., to explain the negative consequences of the forest destruction. Those images are supplemented by a commentary that blends the information from scientific studies and the wisdom of ancient Indian traditions (Bahuguna, 1982; Bandyopadhayay, 1992; Pirta, 1994, 2000; Tikekar, 1988).

In such a paradigm, everybody has to engage in the *yajña*, the noble cause, of preserving the nature's balance on our planet (Sarala Devi, 1982). The native of the Himālaya says "Yes" to life and "No" to death while following the way towards culture, *saṁskṛti*, which is characterized by qualities such as peace, happiness and fulfilment (Bahuguna, 1997). The native people of the Himālayas are against those values, which regard nature as a commodity to be used or exploited by human beings. Where a person competes for materialistic knowledge (big head), he has no compassion for fellow beings (no heart) and he avoids manual work (feeble hands). It is a path towards destruction, *vikṛti*, in contrast to culture, *saṁskṛti*.

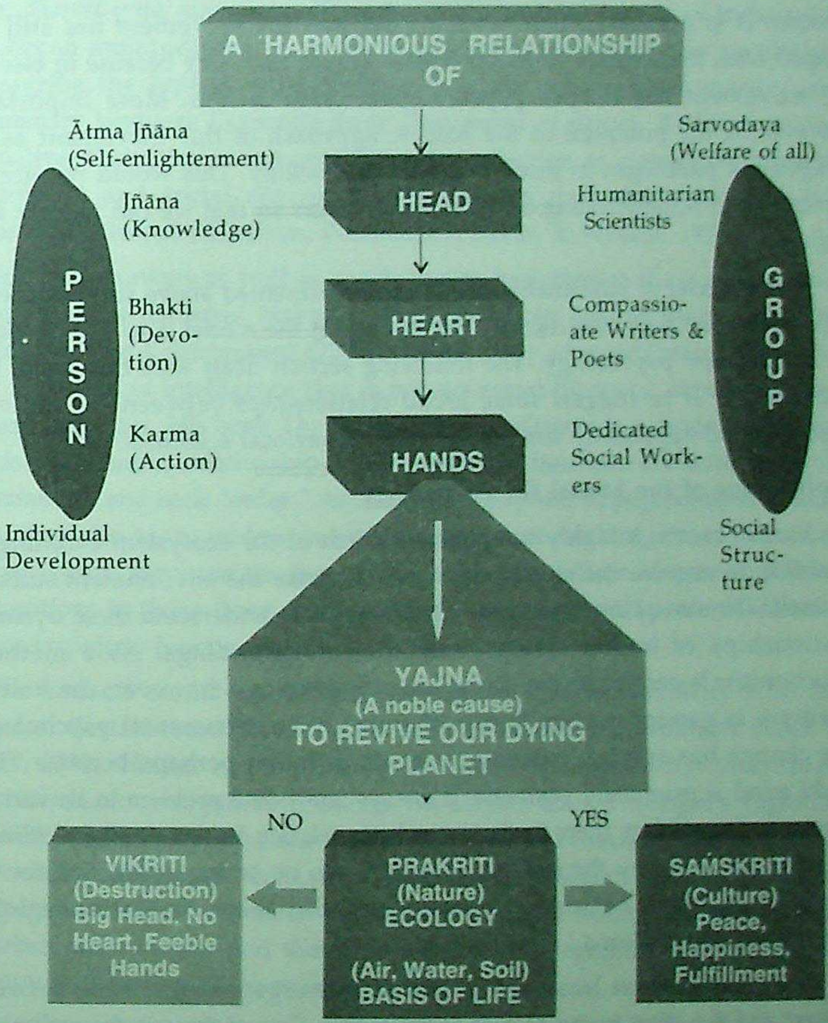

A HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP OF
Ātma Jñāna (Self-enlightenment)
Sarvodaya (Welfare of all)
Jñāna (Knowledge)
HEAD
Humanitarian Scientists
PERSON
Bhakti (Devotion)
HEART
Compassioate Writers & Poets
GROUP
Karma (Action)
HANDS
Dedicated Social Workers
Individual Development
Social Structure
YAJNA (A noble cause) TO REVIVE OUR DYING PLANET
NO
YES
VIKRITI (Destruction) Big Head, No Heart, Feeble Hands
PRAKRITI (Nature) ECOLOGY (Air, Water, Soil) BASIS OF LIFE
SAṀSKRITI (Culture) Peace, Happiness, Fulfilment

fig. **2. People's cognition of development.**

The above section outlines people's cognition of development. There are excellent alternate sources (Berreman, 1989; Guha, 1989; Rangan, 2001; Shiva & Bandyopadhyay, 1986; Weber, 1988), which give general information and provide extensive analyses of this pioneer environmental movement of India. One must, however, be careful about biases of those analysts regarding the social issues taken up by the movement and the actors involved in it. The picture I have presented in the above section is by a person who is a native of the Himālayas, a participant and a psychologist at the same time. Therefore, first of all a disclaimer, it is *not* a selective, an authoritative, and the final account. It is presented here with a view that the movement has still far escaped from the scrutiny of psychologists. This is necessary because in essence the movement has deeper psychological ramifications. More important, however, is the potential of the holistic approach of this movement as an indigenous paradigm in environmental psychology. This would require its application in understanding environmental issues so that we can modify and evolve it.

In the model of sustainable development presented above some concepts have been used that need further explanation if the model is to be related to the mainstream psychology. The following section deals with this issue. My attempt here is to suggest some broad relationships between the native's cognition and apparently similar issues of behavioral scientists.

Implications of the Model for Psychology

The human race is a highly unique constituent of the ecosystem excelling in its ability to cognize the environment and to make the environment suitable for itself. The aim of environmental psychology is to understand these dynamic relationships of human beings with their surroundings. As a method, reductionism is central to the discipline of psychology, however, the holistic paradigm is gaining recognition in the area of environmental psychology. This change has special importance for us in India, perhaps because "The Hindu mind is essentially synthetic. It always analyses a problem in its various aspects, and considers them in their synthetic relation to one another." (Sinha, 1958: xvii) In this way the holistic paradigm can be an important link for the exchange of ideas between the East and the West on various global environmental problems.

In recent years, at least two points of convergence are visible between the East and the West in the area of environment. One of them is the realization that there is need for a radical change in human relationship with nature. For this new relationship with nature a holistic approach is imperative that is partly religious in temperament (Chaitanya, 2000) and is open to native wisdom of primal societies (Goldsmith, 1998). The Deep Ecology (Naess, 1989) is also a meeting point for the East and the West. But the other most significant area of convergence is emerging from the scientific acceptability of holistic relationships, which presently can be seen in case of the Gaia Hypothesis (Bunyard, 1996; Lovelock, 1979). Gaia is encompassing whole of the planet earth and its atmosphere. The Indian tradition has the concept of Mother Earth, *dharatī mātā*, since ages (Tripathi, 2002), and the people of India relate with her in multitudinous ways. We may have to develop a new vocabulary to describe the holistic relationships, because science customarily uses fragmentary language to narrate these phenomena of nature. As far as native-non-native distinction is concerned it is the reflection of a person's response to physical and social environmental features and also related to his personality attributes (Ittelson, Proshansky, Rivlin & Winkel, 1974).

Spiritual thinkers as well as psychologists hypothesize the concept of an internal state of harmony, however, its attributes are seldom made clear. For spiritualists like Krishnamurti (2000), the harmony of mind/brain, heart and body is a state of intelligence that is not governed by space, time and other physical measures. His book *The Awakening of Intelligence* is a rational dialogue on this harmonious relationship. It has a survival function. We want to avoid "uncertainty" and seek "order." As from the viewpoint of psychologists (Dalal, 2001), they also try to understand the integration of thinking, mood (emotion) and behaviour. For example, mental and behavioural disorders are conceived as alterations in these three components accompanied with personal distress and/or impaired functioning.

The native's model presented here may have some similarity with the models of Gestalt social psychologists such as Heider and Festinger (Rock & Palmer, 1990). Heider in his principle of balance, proposes that individuals prefer harmonious cognitive relations. On similar lines, Festinger's cognitive dissonance model hypothesizes that people seek to reduce inconsistencies in their beliefs, feelings and behaviour. Gestalt psychologists opine that we are taking interest in environmental psychology due to a feeling of suffocation in our urban environment and therefore we are now searching ways to live in harmony with nature (Ittelson *et al.*, 1974).

Let us now consider two examples exploring the possibility of the development of models based on within and between harmonious social relationships from two important sectors, the management and the labour. The prime reason suggested for these alternative models is the ineffectiveness of the materialist model of development in certain eastern cultures. These investigators have independently found that the harmony of thoughts, feelings and actions, is important in a variety of interdependent relationships in organizations as has already been suggested in the native cognitive model of sustainable development.

It is a strange coincidence that the two studies mentioned here, independently report about the importance of a harmonious state in social relations. A study on managers reports that the harmony of *jñāna*, *bhakti* and *karma* is a characteristic of cultures that form the Southern Asia cluster. Investigators of a project, the GLOBE, have observed that the model of management based on capitalist economics has limited value for organizations in South Asia (Gupta, Surie, Javidan & Chhokar, 2002). They, however, believe that Southern Asian managers are likely to adopt integrative value-based approach that is rooted in the regional philosophy, which has maintained deep interaction among the three core concepts of knowledge, devotion and action.

The second study compares two scenarios of the ontology of labour in the north-eastern region of India. In stark contrast to the mainstream capitalist ontology of labour prevalent in most parts of India, the scenario in the north-eastern region, as depicted in the study (Batola, 2003) is: Human — Creative — Organic (Nature — Society) — Natural reproduction — Sustainable — Community and family labour — Empowering — Harmonious. The modern economic development, however, has induced redundancies and obsolescence in the north-eastern region instead of improving the quality and quantity of labour. Now imagine the state of affairs in a region where the percentage of total workers is higher than the percentage of the country.

Development needs to be aligned to values of society. While developing his argument on this line of thinking, Tripathi (2002) observes that developmental interventions can be more effective in India by incorporating existing values from the society. However, his cautionary note is:

> In suggesting that one way to align development to values is to look for a moral principle which will harmonize values in conflict, the idea is not to direct development in terms of religion but only to use religious and moral symbols to achieve a more open and integrated society.
>
> — Tripathi, 2002: 323

If our goal is "sustainable development," which has been defined as the "socially responsible development" by the Earth Summit 1992, then perhaps the need for a value based approach for human development is an imperative.

It may be appropriate here to clarify the meaning of the holistic approach. We can proceed to understand the holistic approach in the following way. The first thing to keep in mind is that the study of *the relationship* between two entities is different from trying to understand *the entity itself*. The former is the basis for a holistic study while the latter is the method of reductionism. In a holistic approach the aim is to discover underlying themes in a phenomenon following certain procedures. This process results in a cognized whole, which may vary from a visual "Gestalt" of a pattern to an all encompassing "Gaia." The "Gestalt" is a unitary perception, an emergent property (Rock & Palmer, 1990). The "Gaia" signifies a network of relationships among the elements or parts of a complex system, the Earth, which gives an impression of a single living entity (Lovelock, 1979). In both these cases one proceeds from above to below.

Natives, for example, perceive the frequent occurrence of landslides in the Himālayas due to something wrong in the relationships among the parts of the entire ecosystem. They do not consider it an isolated event caused due to one or more factors related to geological structure of the mountain system. Modern scientists, however, defend the latter point of view. A native may proceed in his reasoning like this, people crave for more and more money from timber, denude trees on the hill slopes and side by side intensify agriculture. They perceive it as an interference in natural phenomena, consequently there is unpredictable weather, spells of dryness and cloudbursts, and the bare landscape starts eroding and slowly chunks of landmass slide down. The native thinks in terms of interrelatedness among various parts of the ecosystem. These constituent parts of the ecosystem may be physical, social and psychological. Among the psychological constituents come the pleasure and displeasure of local deities as well as universal gods and goddesses. In other words, the material and the spiritual integrate meaningfully in the native's mind.

Long time ago, in a series of Gifford Lectures, Frazer (1926) explored the worship of nature in distant parts of the world including India. In his opinion the materialistic and the spiritualistic theories aim at knowing the ultimate reality, which "is beyond the immediate data of sense." In recent times a psychoanalyst (Kakar, 2001) has explored the relationship between culture and healing in different parts of India. He observes that for masses the harmonious integration with one's group and surrender to the supreme power is perhaps natural and has healing properties. One must, however, be extremely careful about the procedures involved in the traditional healing practices. In the cognition of a native his deities interact at various levels ranging from his social milieu to his search for the ultimate reality in the cosmos.

In the collective consciousness of natives, the development is a quest for *ātma-jñāna* or self-enlightenment but at the same time one has to work for *sarvodaya* or welfare of all following the principle of Advaita or non-dualism. There are several developmental interventions in the Garhwal Himālayas, which have been creating cognitive dissonance in the minds of native people. The cognitive dissonance occurs due to a mismatch between the native's and the government's versions of models of development in the hills. It has led to the two widely debated actions of the natives of Garhwal Himālayas: conflicts over the felling of green trees (Bahuguna, 1982; Mira Behn, 1978; Singh, 2001), and dissent over the construction of big dams (Bahuguna, 1978; Bhatt, 1992; Pirta, 2001; Valdiya, 1992).

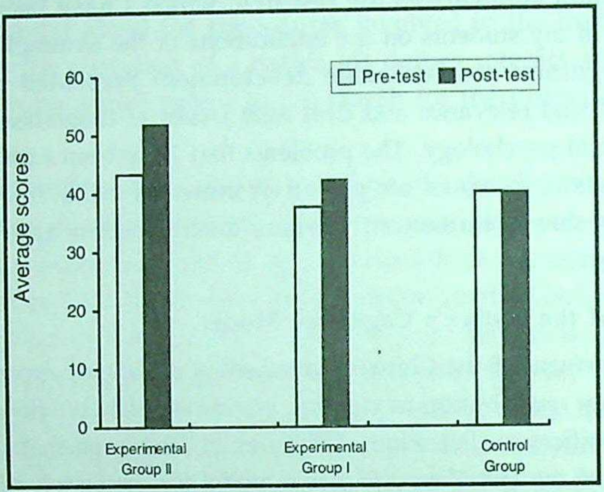
Modern technocrats, however, disagree with the native's conceptualization of development. Therefore, some criteria of development are needed. A psychologist, Tripathi (2002), proposes the criteria of openness and embeddedness for any change to be considered as development. If we follow these two criteria to test the validity of the large-scale interventions in the Himālayas as models of development, the result would probably be negative. First of all, even well-known scientists have questioned the openness of large-scale interventions in the Himālayas such as big dams (Gaur, 1995; Valdiya, 1992). The other reason is more important and partly includes the first one in it. Many voluntary social workers, who have devoted their lives for openness in the hill society, are disillusioned by the lack of embeddedness of the local people in these large projects (Bahuguna, 1978; Bhatt, 1992). This is probably the main cause of the native's struggle against the large-scale interventions in the Himālayas. No doubt these interventions create enormous social as well as physical change, they hardly meet the criteria of development either for a native or for the psychologist.

In this section an attempt has been made to relate the concepts used by the native people with the concepts used by psychologists. There appears to be a considerable similarity both in the meaning of concepts and underlying processes. Some of these concepts and processes are harmony, holism, development and the relationship of thinking, feeling and behaving. The following section summarizes the research, which I have been conducting with the help of my students on the applications of the assumptions based on the native cognition of sustainable development presented above. These studies have social relevance and deal with issues of theoretical significance in environmental psychology. The problems that have been explored, broadly speaking, pertain to areas of: pro-environmental behaviour, emotional attachment systems, humanistic versus authoritarian approaches, and community care.

Application of the Native's Cognitive Model

A major achievement of the Chipko Movement is its holistic approach that has made significant contribution in creating environmental consciousness among people. Its significance (Berreman, 1989) lies in "the hope that Chipko holds for the people of the Himālayas, and as a model for the people of India." This native movement is an uprising against the materialistic values that regard nature as a commodity for the use of human beings. In this respect the Chipko Movement is nearer to the Deep Ecology. For deep ecologists (Rotnenberg, 1993) the goal is "a sustainable world where humanity thinks more than its own welfare." In passing, it is to be noted that Arne Naess, the founder of deep ecology (Naess, 1989), and the pioneers of the Chipko Movement were followers of the Gandhian approach.

In our first study, the aim was to evaluate the effectiveness of the approach of the Chipko Movement in creating environmental awareness. Three groups — a control, experimental-I and experimental-II, were compared for environmental concern before and after delivering instructions. Experimental group I and II, both received similar information for five days on the Chipko Movement and its holistic approach. However, the experimental group II received extra information of waste management on four additional days. The effect of information on the participants has been compared on three components of environmental concern — awareness, behaviour and intention (Goswami & Pirta, 2001, 02). The treatment groups differed from the control group significantly on the environmental concern (*fig.* 3). However, the additional information on waste management to experimental group II had no effect. Thus the influence of holistic approach in creating environmental concern was quite evident in the study. At the same time, it would appear that the holistic approach of the Chipko Movement is more influential in creating environmental consciousness among people than the other behavioural approaches. This, however, needs further exploration.

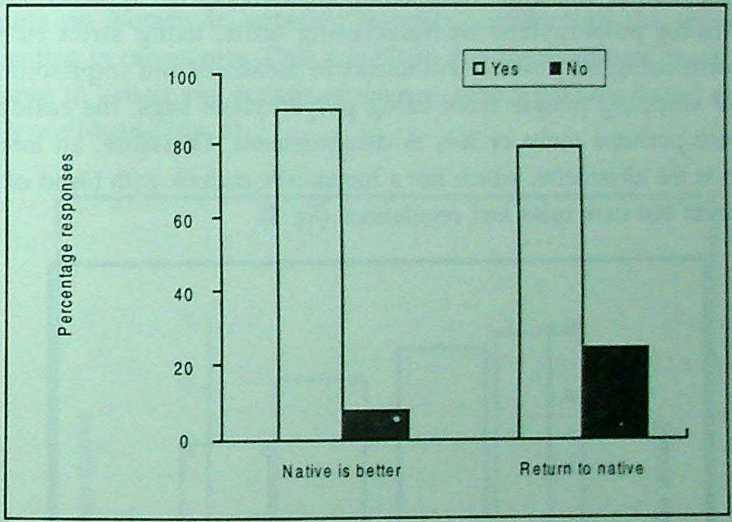


Experimental Group II	43.2	51.75
Experimental Group I	37.55	42.2
Control Group	39.85	39.7

fig. **3. Holistic instructions and environmental concern.**

In the second study, our objective was to find out whether the displacement has negative effects on the social and psychological well-being of the oustees. Our assumption was that the displacement would impair the emotional attachment systems in individuals, families, and communities, which are essential for normal social behaviour. This assumption has its basis in the attachment theory in psychology, which has much wider application in conjunction with the native cognitive model of development. On this basis we have been theorizing that the breakdown of emotional bonds due to displacement leads to an imbalance in the thinking, feeling and behaviour of an individual. After conducting observations and interviews on the displacees of Tehri Dam in their alien habitats (*fig.* 4), our suggestion is that displacement should be avoided as far as possible because of its negative consequences and human apathy (Pirta, 2003; Pirta & Agrawal, 2003).

The rehabilitation process is so difficult that the problems of Bhakra Dam and Pong Dam oustees have not been solved even after about forty years. In this context we must realize that according to the World Health Report 2001 on mental health, there are more than 50 million people who have been displaced due to natural and man-made disasters, and are mostly in the developing countries. Social psychiatrists observe that there is breakdown of community support system in such cases but it is also accompanied by the separation from loved objects. These two factors though separate from one another negatively affect the psychological aspects of the health of displacees. Our study suggests that it is advisable to move an entire village, keeping the social structure intact, to a site that is as physically proximate to the native area as possible. Oustees should receive counselling to cope up with the trauma of dislocation and to manage acculturative stress. The guidelines for this counselling process should come from a holistic approach, where one has respect for nature and recognizes the interdependence in its elements.

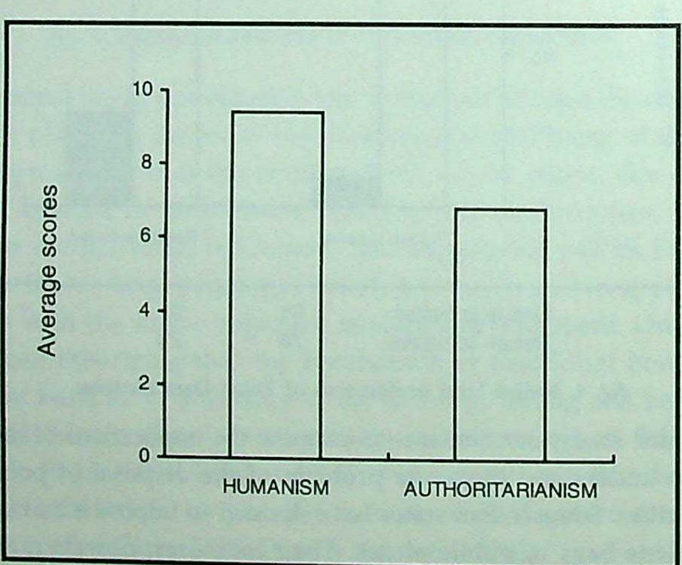


Native is better	91	9
Return to native	76	24

fig. **4. Native land preferences of Tehri Dam oustees.**

In the third study, our aim was to examine the implications of the native's approach to understand the acute problem of the disposal of polyethylene bags in the cities. Some Indian states have decided to impose a ban on the use of polyethylene bags in public places. Their measures, however, are highly stringent, which include a severe penalty and imprisonment for carrying a polyethylene bag. This is an authoritarian approach to solve an environmental problem. In contrast an integrated approach may prove more effective to deal with the problem. The holistic model of Chipko emphasizes the *samagra* or integrated approach to such environmental issues, which require the participation of general public. It follows *mānavīya* or the humanistic viewpoint where the equitability of participation, sustainability in resource use and democratic process in decision making guide the resolution of conflict on an issue.

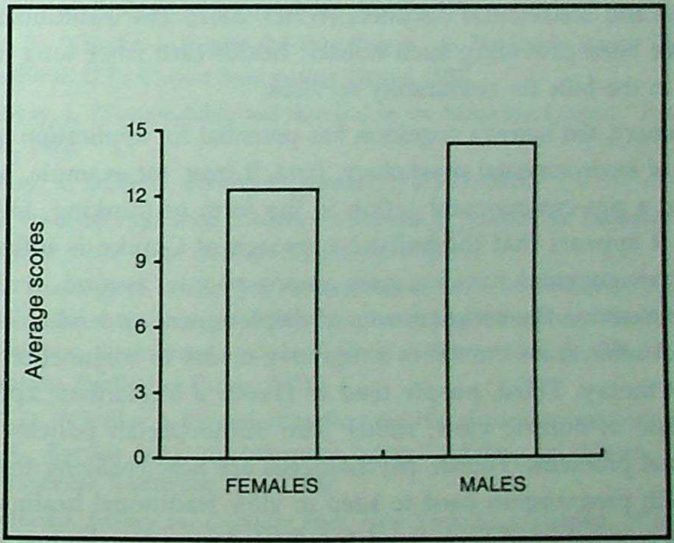
Our survey of various socio-ecological habitats in the city of Shimla indicates that despite the ban following an authoritarian approach, most of the people still carry polyethylene bags in public places (Sethi & Pirta, 2001). People of Shimla mostly "completely agreed" with the humanistic approach involving education, cooperation of the government and the public, direct public participation, public opinion and provision of alternatives to stop people from using polyethylene bags. Considering the authoritarian approach involving fines, closing polyethylene manufacturing units, using strict rules and regulations, using all possible authoritative measures and imprisonment as means of stopping people from using polyethylene bags, the residents of Shimla are perhaps more or less in disagreement. Therefore, an integrated approach is the alternative, which has a humanistic outlook with blend of milder punishments but uses rules and regulations (*fig.* 5).



	Females	Males	All
Humanism	9.38	9.44	9.41
Authoritarianism	7	6.64	6.82

fig. 5. **Perception of humanistic and authoritarian measures.**

The fourth study explored the indigenous institutions of local deities in the western Himālayas, which have implications for their mental health and general well-being. Our preliminary survey of the institution of local deities, especially the *Banad devatā* in some villages of Shimla, in Himachal Pradesh, was insightful. It suggested that the faith in the local deities, on the one hand relieved the devotees of certain problems, but on the other hand it created new psychological problems (Chauhan & Pirta, 2002). Therefore the faith of an individual in local deities needs further investigations because psychological problems may crop up due to an imbalance in his thinking, feeling and acting components. For example, our study indicated that women and men have almost the same amount of faith in the local deities, however, men had more access to the deities and in decision-making than women. There were social restraints on women in entering temples, conducting the worship and participating in ceremonies. Thus it is likely that there occurred more cognitive imbalance in beliefs and actions of women, which perhaps found expression in their well-being (*fig.* 6).



	Belief Ratings	Mental Health	Well-being
Females	37.6	16.82	12.3
Males	36.36	13.34	14.34

***fig.* 6. Psychological well-being in villagers.**

The institution of the deity *Banad* becomes more conspicuous during the festivals such as *Bishu, Jatar, Jagra* and *Shant*. The sovereignty of *Banad* in the region and the impact of its institution on the religious, social, political and psychological life of people are highly discernible on the occasion of these festivals. Here one can see among the people of the region, devotion to the deity, submission to the rules of its institution and a strong urge to alleviate their physical, mental and social problems by the supernatural power of *Banad*. The dialectic relationship of material and non-material within the individual and in the collective consciousness of the people is also manifested in various shades during these festivals. Given this importance to the institution of the *Banad* deity by the people of the region, particularly in alleviating their mental and behavioural problems, it can serve as the basis for the community health care system. Our goal should be to find out, as to how to dynamically augment this traditional system without ignoring those elements, which are in consonance with the modern health care system. We must keep in mind the report of the World Health Organization on mental health that recommends the need to establish and maintain community health care system for people with mental and behavioural disorders (WHO, 2001). The institutions of local deities have been providing such holistic health care since long and is an ideal case in the hills for community services.

In summary, the native's cognition has potential for application in at least four areas of environmental psychology. First, it may, for example, help us to understand a pro-environment action in the form of thinking, feeling and behaving. It appears that the holistic approach of Chipko is influential in creating environmental consciousness among people. Second, it should be possible to examine the consequences of displacement and rehabilitation in terms of deviation from the native's cognitive model in conjunction with the attachment theory. Third, people tend to favour a humanistic approach, a characteristic of holistic view, rather than authoritarian policies to solve environmental problems. Fourth, psychologists are now realizing that holistic mental health programmes need to keep in view traditional healing systems prevalent in a community. Such trend is indicated in our preliminary study of mental health issues and their links with local deities in some villages of Himachal Pradesh. Lastly, the folk (native) psychology can make significant enhancement in the repertoire of cognitive psychology, besides providing social tools of collective change.

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34

Sarasvatī Hieroglyphs and Bhāratīya Cultural Continuum

Mlecchita Vikalpa and Bhāratīya Sabhyatā

S.Kalyanaranam

Vāk, parole (Spoken idiom)

It is time to start naming the archaeological and scientific discoveries on Sarasvatī River basin using the cognate terms from the languages and traditions of Bhārat — the *parole* or the local idiom in villages of the river basin, apart from using English words such as: pots, plates, weapons, reservoirs, conch-shells, tin, zinc, copper, bronze and minerals. This is one small step to cracking the code of the Purāṇa *lipi,* not unlike understanding the ancient, *purāṇa-coins* of *janapadas.* Let us call the language Mleccha, not unlike Nahali Nagari. The next small step is to relate the *lipi* to the *mudrā*s (punches) on cast and punch-marked *nāṇaya*s (coins). In Bhāratīya tradition, a *mudrā* can also be represented in dance forms apart from written forms of expression. *Mudrā* is merely a *vikalpa,* a representation of reality, just as *mlecchita vikalpa* is a representation in writing of the *vāk* (parole).

Indus (Sindhu)

INDUS SCRIPT (MLECCHITA VIKALPA)

What is often referred to as "Indus Script" found on over 4000 inscribed objects (available in museums all over the world), has been an enigma. A comprehensive compendium of objects with Sarasvatī epigraphs has been compiled together with texts.[1] The consensus among scholars is that the

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[1] Mahadevan concordance excludes inscribed objects which do not contain "texts"; for example, this concordance excludes about 50 seals inscribed with the *svastika* pictorial motif and a pectoral which contains the pictorial motif of a one-horned bull

→

"script" has not been deciphered so far despite over 100 claims made that the script relates to Sanskrit or Tamil or even Sumerian language.[2] This situation is caused by the absence of a "Rosetta Stone" to convincingly establish the validity of any decipherment claim. The question is a classic problem in cryptography.

It has been posited that even without a Rosetta stone, the reading of *mlecchita vikalpa* [cipher or picture writing; lit. "alternative representation by copper workers" (*Mleccha*)] becomes self-evident because many of the hieroglyphs used on the epigraphs can be interpreted, rebus, using lexemes of dialects of many languages from Bhārat. These lexemes relate to the tools-of-trade of a brazier or metallurgist: minerals, metals, smelting and melting furnaces, other artefacts produced by braziers and lapidaries, metallic tools and weapons.

- **Structure, form and function:** All 4,000+ epigraphs; each with an average of 6 glyphs (5 signs, generally with pictorial motifs); they use picture-writing and ligatures of glyphs; read rebus, they are a record of property possessions of metal-workers — minerals/metals, metal products and/or used as bills-of-lading for riverine/marine transport and trade.
- Pan-Bhāratīya spread of metal-worker tradition is evidenced in (1) punch-marked coins (of *janapada* mints — from Coimbatore to

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→ with a device in front and an over-flowing pot. Parpola concordance has been used to present such objects which also contain valuable orthographic data which may assist in decoding the inscriptions. Many broken objects are also contained in Parpola concordance which are useful, in many cases, to count the number of objects with specific "field symbols," a count which also provides some valuable clues to support the decoding of the messages conveyed by the "field symbols" which dominate the object space.

[2] A comprehensive bibliography appears in Parpola, *Deciphering the Indus Script*, London, 1994, pp. 303-48. Compendium of the efforts made since the discovery by Gen. Alexander Cunningham, in 1875, of the first known Indus seal (British Museum 1892-12-10, 1), to decipher the script appear in the Kalyanaraman, S., *Indus Script: A bibliography*, Manila, 1988; Mahadevan, I., *What do we know about the Indus script? Neti neti ("Not this nor that")*, Presidential Address, section 5, Indian History Congress, 49th Session, Dharwar, 2-4 November 1988, Madras; Possehl, Gregory, *Indus Age: the writing system*, Delhi, 1996; and Richard Meadow and Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, 1997, Excavations at Harappa 1994-1995: new perspecties on the Indus script, craft activities, and city organization, in Raymond Allchin and Bridget Allchin, 1997, *South asian Archaeology 1995*, Oxford and IBH Publishing, pp. 157-63.

Takṣaśilā), (2) use of copper-plate inscriptions (for property/economic transactions); (3) *śreṇī* (guilds of artisans, *pañcāla* or *pañcakammāḷar*); and (4) dialectical continuum of Bhārat in reference to the technical/ economic repertoire of these guilds.

- Code, rebus (sound alike) is a *vikalpa* (representation of) minerals, metals, furnaces (of various types), metal tools of artisan guilds (*śreṇī*); each glyph is a word.
- Roots of Bhāratīya culture are discovered in Sarasvatī hieroglyphs of Sarasvatī Civilizations linguistic and cultural area.

The reliability of the code used for hieroglyphs will be tested for almost all the 4000 inscribed objects. The consistency with which the hieroglyphs can be explained as the tools-of-trade of braziers and metal-fire-workers of Bhārat will stand the tests needed for any successful decipherment claim. No special pleading is advanced. The hieroglyphs will speak for themselves as the lexemes of *mleccha* unfold as a legacy of Bhāratīya language repertoire. A remarkable conclusion emerges. *Mleccha* was the substratum which can explain the dialectical continuum of Bhārat, for glosses in the dialects of Muṇḍa, Draviḍian and Indo-Āryan. This declares a paradigm change in language studies. The languages of Bhārat, *circa* 5500 years Before Present, constituted a linguistic area with a semantic unity consistent with the cultural unity of the nation from Mānasarovar to Kanyākumārī and from Somnāth to Gauhati, along the 7500 km long coastline and along the foot-hills of Himālayan ranges which stretch from Teheran (Iran) to Hanoi (Vietnam).

- Epigraphs are composed of Sarasvatī hieroglyphs.
- They are recorded on:
    - Seals
    - Tablets
    - Bangles (see Bagalkot 06 bangle)

  - Gold pendants
  - Copper plates, copper or silver seals
  - Weapons
  - Also made in the round (standard device, tigress ligatured to a woman)
- Epigraphs may contain only pictographs or just one or two "signs" (which are also glyphs).

Duplicate Epigraphs

Though the corpus is limited, it is surprising that there is a substantial number of duplicate inscriptions; this has become apparent from the recent report of excavations at Harappā (1993 to 1995 seasons). Obviously, the inscriptions do NOT represent "names" of owners. The inscriptions could imply either the "functions" performed by or the "professional title or artisans' guild" of the person who carried the inscribed object on his wrist (or as a pendant attached to a necklace) (or the list of objects he/she was invoicing for trade as bill-of-lading or to list possessions of property items listed).

This hypothesis gets re-inforced by (1) the finding of inscriptions on copper tablets (again, with many duplicates — all apparently made by a metal-worker and hence may relate to metal objects produced, say, in an armoury); and (2) the presence of over 200 inscribed objects with no sign (only pictorial motif) or just one or two signs. [The signs could hardly have been alphabets or syllables since there are not many "names" attested in the historical periods with just one or two syllables.]

In the Bhāratīya tradition, the use of copper-plate inscriptions served the purpose of recording property transactions, listing possessions of property items.

Out of 2,600 archaeological sites discovered so far of what is referred to as the "Harappan Civilization," as many as 2,000 (80 per cent) sites are found on the banks of the Vedic River Sarasvatī. The 7-volume encyclopaedic work[3] on Sarasvatī by Dr. S. Kalyanaraman, presents a comprehensive view of

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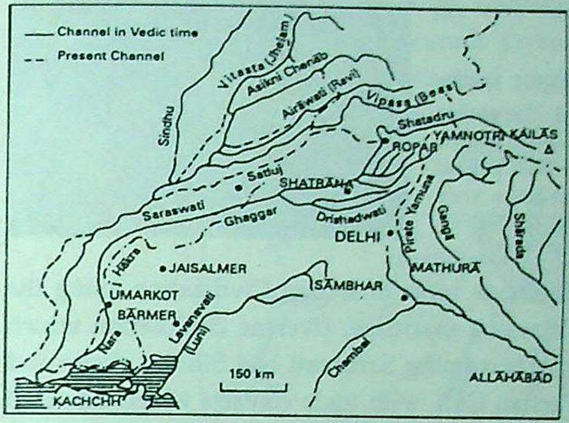
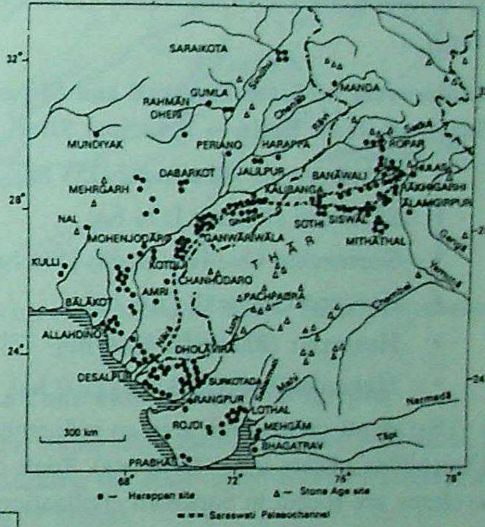
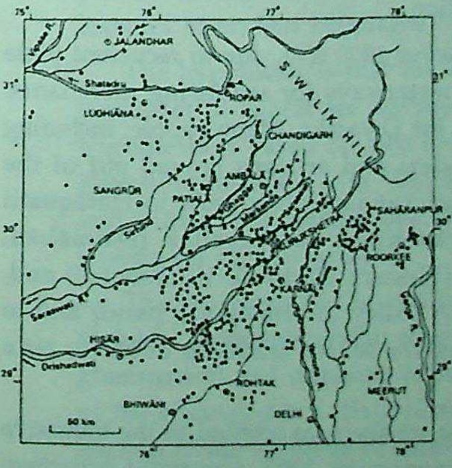
[3] An encyclopaedic work on Sarasvati has been compiled, comprising 7 books (Dr. S. Kalyanaraman, 2003, *Sarasvatī: Civilization, Sarasvatī: Ṛgveda, Sarasvatī: River, Sarasvatī: Bharatī, Sarasvatī: Technology, Sarasvatī: Language, Sarasvatī: Epigraphs*, Bangalore, Babasaheb (Umakanta Keshav) Apte Smarak Samiti). The work establishes the roots of Bhāratīya Civilization on the banks of River Sarasvati. The civilization is described with ample evidence as a maritime, riverine civilization.


Channel in Vedic time
Present Channel
Vitasta (Jhelam)
Asikni Chenāb
Airāwati (Ravi)
Vipasa (Beas)
Sindhu
Shatadru
YAMNOTRI
KAILĀS
ROPAR
Satluj
SHATRĀNA
Saraswati
Ghaggar
Drishadwati
DELHI
Pirate Yamuna
Gangā
Shārada
Hākra
JAISALMER
MATHURĀ
SĀMBHAR
UMARKOT
BĀRMER
Nara
Lavanavati (Luni)
Chambal
150 km
ALLĀHĀBĀD
KACHCHH

Vedic Sarasvatī. Tamasā (with Yamunā) and Sutlej rivers, and Dṛṣadvatī (now represented by Chautang) were tributaries of River Sarasvatī. [KS Valdiya, 1996]

Ṛṣi āśramas:
Chandi: Cyavana
Śrīkolayati: Kapila
Pehoa: Vaśiṣṭha
Markanda: Mārkaṇḍeya
Jageri, Bikaner: Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka
Beas: Viśvāmitra


SARAIKOTA
GUMLA
RAHMĀN DHERI
MANDA
MUNDIYAK
PERIANO
HARAPPA
ROPAR
DABARKOT
JALILPUR
BANĀWALI
MEHRGARH
KALIBANGA
RĀKHIGARHI
ĀLAMGIRPUR
NAL
SOTHI
SISWAL
MOHENJODARO
GANWARIWALA
THĀR
MITHATHAL
KULLI
KOTDIJI
CHANHUDARO
AMRI
PACHPADRA
BĀLĀKOT
ALLAHDINO
DHOLĀVIRA
DESALPUR
SURKOTADA
RANGPUR
LOTHAL
ROJDI
MEHGĀM
BHAGATRAV
PRABHĀS
Sindhu
Chenāb
Ravi
Satluj
Ganga
Yamuna
Chambal
Luni
Mahi
Narmadā
Tāpi
300 km
32°
28°
24°
68°
72°
76°
78°
● — Harappan site
▲ — Stone Age site
— Saraswati Palaeochannel


75°
76°
77°
78°
31°
30°
29°
Vipasa R.
JALANDHAR
Shatadru
ROPAR
SIWALIK HILLS
LUDHIĀNA
CHANDIGARH
AMBĀLĀ
SANGRŪR
PATIALĀ
Satluj
SAHĀRANPUR
KURUKSHETRA
ROORKEE
KARNĀL
Saraswati R.
HISĀR
Drishadwati
ROHTAK
BHIWĀNI
DELHI
MEERUT
Yamuna R.
Ganga R.
50 km

Density of settlements at the foothills of Śivālik ranges and upper reaches of river Sarasvatī. No settlements west of Ropar on R. Śutudri (Sutlej); an indication that Sutlej was flowing south to join R. Sarasvatī at Shatrana.

Śivālik hills were left-laterally displaced. NNW-SSE-trending tear fault is still active. The earlier west-flowing rivers were swung southwards, following the path of the fault. The Bata stream which joins Yamunā from the west has a very wide valley [NRSA, ISRO, Hyderabad]

continuity of culture and indigenous roots of Indian Civilization along the Indian coastline and rivers. It was a maritime, riverine civilization which established long-range contacts, traversing Sarasvatī and Sindhu rivers and along the Makran coast and Persian Gulf, with trade contacts which extended up to the Tigris-Euphrates valley (even beyond the present-day Baghdad in Iraq).

Rediscovery of River Sarasvatī and 80 per cent of Sites on Sarasvatī River Basin — Principal Sites

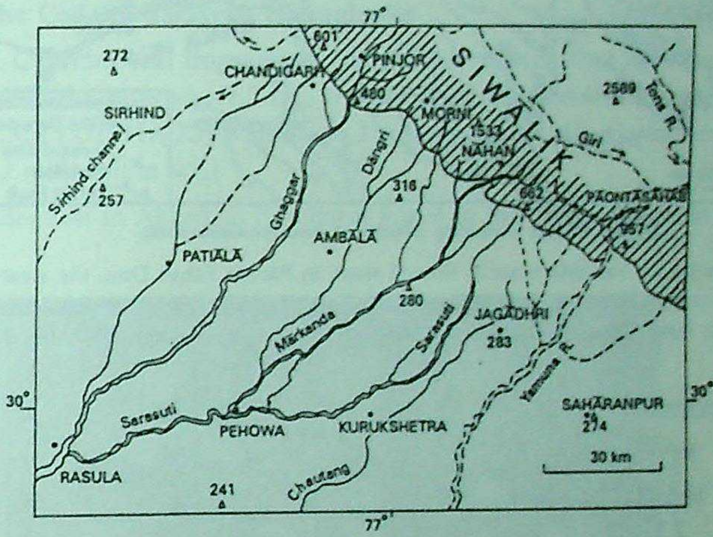
- Lakhmīrwālā (Bhaṭiṇḍā) [225 ha]
- Rakhigari (Hissar) [224 ha]
- Gurnikalān One (Bhaṭiṇḍā) [144 ha]
- Harappā (Sāhiwāl) [100 ha]
- Hasanpur (Bhaṭiṇḍā) [100 ha]
- Mohenjo-Dāro (Larkānā) [100 ha]

Sarasvatī civilization was an indigenous, autochthonous evolution from chalcolithic phases (*circa* 10000 BCE). Roots of Bhāratīya culture and knowledge systems are found in Sarasvatī civilization.

River Sarasvatī started desiccating (*circa* 1900 BCE), due to recurrent plate tectonics, snapping the continuity of waterways for sea-faring merchants, and incursion of the sea into regions of Bet Dwaraka. Many people, including sea-faring, river-faring **Meluhhan** traders and artisans moved out of the coastline and river basins east to Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, west to Haraquaiti (Arachosia region), south to Godāvarī-Kṛṣṇa river valley (Dāimābād, mesolithic sites), north to Har-ki-dun (Western Garhwal, Uttaranchal) and, indeed, all over Bhārat, to Lohitya river valley (Brahmaputra basin) and to Gulf of Mannar (Tiruchendur, carrying the *śaṅkha* tradition dated to *circa* 6500 BCE).

Vidura and Yudhiṣṭhira were *Mleccha* speakers, as attested in the Bhāratīya Great Epic *Mahābhārata*. [Source: S. Kalyanaraman, 2003, *Sarasvatī: Civilization;*

River; Ṛgveda; Bhāratī; Technology; Language; Epigraphs (7 books)]. *Mleccha*, like *Nahali* (*Nagari*), was substratum proto-Bhāratīya language. Present-day languages of Bhārat are a dialectical continuum from *Mleccha* (parole) spoken by these *dvīpavāsin* of linguistic area of Saraśvatī-Sindhu river basins and coastal regions of the riverine, maritime, Sarasvatī civilization.


77°
601
PINJOR
SIWALIK
272
CHANDIGARH
480
2589
Tons R.
SIRHIND
MORNI
1533
NAHAN
Giri
Sirhind channel
316
Dangri
257
Ghaggar
662
PAONTASAHAB
957
AMBALA
PATIALA
280
JAGADHRI
283
Mārkanda
Sarasuti
Yamuna R.
30°
30°
SAHARANPUR
274
Sarasuti
PEHOWA
KURUKSHETRA
30 km
RASULA
241
Chautang
77°

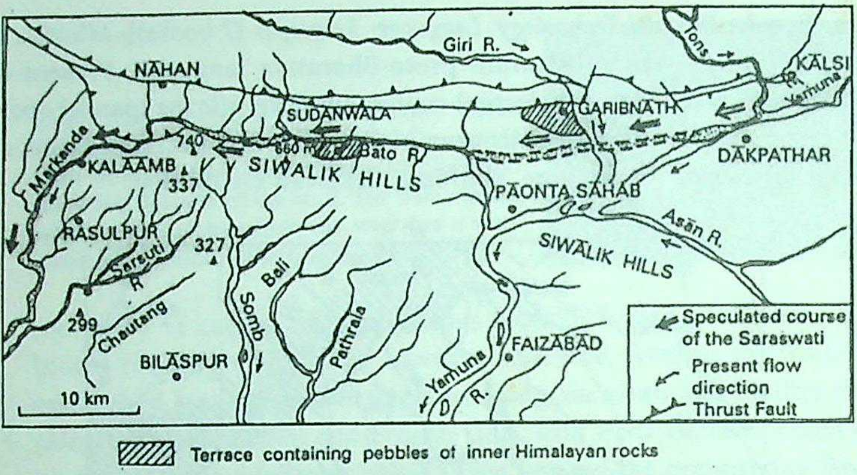
Dry channels of Sarsuti, its tributary Mārkaṇḍa, meet at Pehoa, downstream, the river is called Ghaggar [KS Valdiya, 2002, Fig. 3.1]

Hypothesis for Cracking the Code of Sarasvatī Hieroglyphs

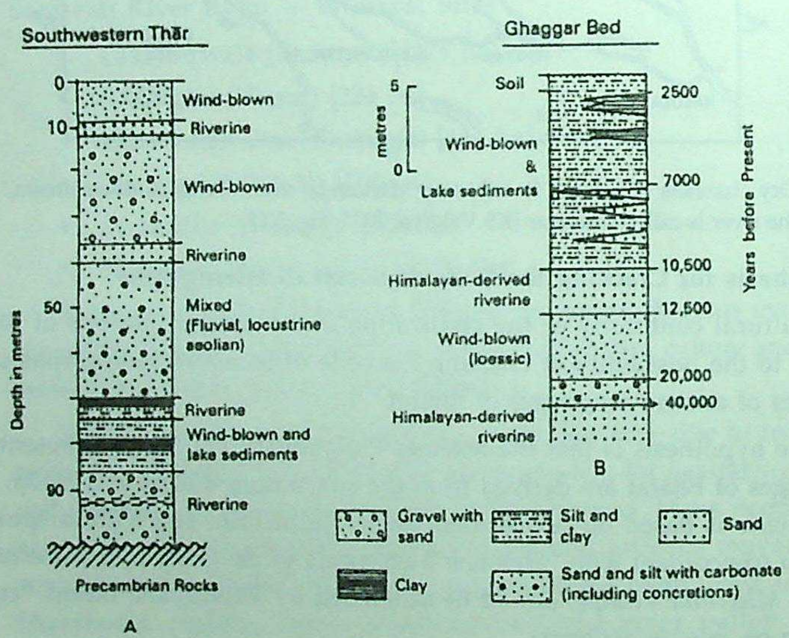
The cultural continuity of the civilization into historical periods of Bhārat points to the possibility of cracking the code of Sarasvatī hieroglyphs using lexemes of ancient languages of Bhārat.

The hypothesis is that the lexemes ("dictionary entries") of present-day languages of Bhārat are derived from the substratum dialect of *Mleccha*. This hypothesis is based on two evidences: 1. Yudhiṣṭhira and Vidura spoke in *Mleccha* (concordant with "Meluhha") according to the Great Epic *Mahābhārata*; and 2. *Mlecchita Vikalpa*, one of 64 arts listed by Vātsyāyana means "cipher writing on *mleccha* (copper)."

The language of the civilization was *Mleccha* representing the area of Meluhha (Sarasvatī-Sindhu river basins) as a linguistic area (dialects absorbing grammatical and semantic features from each other); present-day languages of the country are a dialectical continuum. This calls for further linguistic analysis of the influence of substratum words in the emergence of the language


Giri R.
Tons
KALSI
Yamuna
NAHAN
SUDANWALA
GARIBNATH
DAKPATHAR
Markande
740
660 m
Bato R.
KALAAMB
SIWALIK HILLS
337
PAONTA SAHAB
Asān R.
RASULPUR
327
Sarsuti R.
SIWALIK HILLS
Bali
299
Chautang
Somb
Pathrala
BILASPUR
FAIZABAD
Yamuna
R.
10 km
Speculated course of the Saraswati
Present flow direction
Thrust Fault
Terrace containing pebbles of inner Himalayan rocks

Tamasā (with its Yamunā branch) flowed west, in Pāoṇṭā Sāhab Dun; the west-flowing channels, now called Bāta and Mārkaṇḍa join **Sarsuti** (with wide channels). Metamorphic rocks from inner Himālaya are found in two old terraces [KS Valdiya, 2002, Fig. 3.3]


Southwestern Thār
0
10
50
90
Depth in metres
Wind-blown
Riverine
Wind-blown
Riverine
Mixed (Fluvial, locustrine aeolian)
Riverine
Wind-blown and lake sediments
Riverine
Precambrian Rocks
A
Ghaggar Bed
5
0
metres
Soil
Wind-blown & Lake sediments
Himalayan-derived riverine
Wind-blown (loessic)
Himalayan-derived riverine
2500
7000
10,500
12,500
20,000
40,000
Years before Present
B
Gravel with sand
Silt and clay
Sand
Clay
Sand and silt with carbonate (including concretions)

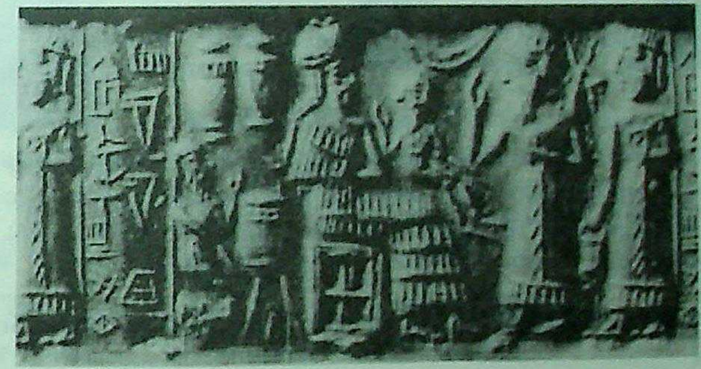
11 m thick sediments in Sarasvatī River Basin. Himālayan-derived sediments — 10,500 to 12,500 years Before Present — occur in the Ghaggar (Sarasvatī) channel upstream of Sirsā/ Kalibaṅgan (Courty, 1995). These sediments are similar to that of Yamunā implying connection of Sarasvatī and Yamunā (Raikes, 1968). Clay deposits in upper part of the succession of sediments (terminal phase of Sarasvatī) denote lake formation by the river (After Singhvi and Kar, 1992)

streams of the country as the people moved out of Sarasvatī River Basin after the river started desiccating *circa* 1900 BCE caused by plate tectonics and resultant river migrations. Sarasvatī is not myth or legend, the river is ground-truth as proved by multi-disciplinary scientific investigations. Indian civilization emerged on her banks.

Cracking the Code of Sarasvatī Hieroglyphs

[Akkadian. Cylinder seal Impression. Inscription records that it belongs to "Śūiliśu, Meluhha interpreter," i.e., translator of the Meluhhan language (EME.BAL.ME.LUH.HA.KI) Musee du Louvre. Ao 22 310, Collection De Clercq third millennium BCE.]

A cylinder seal in Akkadian cuneiform found in this valley, dated to *circa* 4500 years Before Present (BP), depicts a bearded Meluhhan merchant accompanied by his wife, carrying a *kamaṇḍalu* and an interpreter. The Meluhhan carries an antelope on his arms. This is a classic hieroglyph, the antelope is a phonetic determinant of the word, "Meluhha." Unravelling the hieroglyph of this "Rosetta Stone," the work elaborates hundreds of homonyms of lexemes from many dialects.



The code is unravelled in cultural contexts in which the civilization prospered with the ups and downs in trade contacts over a period of two millennia stretching from 3500 BCE (Before Common Era) to 1500 BCE as the civilization emerged from the chalcolithic (copper and stone) to bronze (alloy of copper and tin) phases in metallurgical tradition.

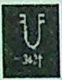
Structurally, an average of 5 glyphs (together with an animal or ligatured animals) are adequate to convey a message. The hieroglyph form is essentially pictographic depicting: tiger, rhinoceros, elephant, three types of bulls, buffalo, three types of antelopes, lizard, scorpion, snake. Often, a standard device is also presented in front of a heifer, steer (bull). All these hieroglyphs are rebus (lit. "sounds like") codes for minerals, metals and furnaces used by metallurgists, braziers and lapidaries to create ingots of metals and alloys, tools and weapons, artefacts (*śaṅkha*, beads of gold, silver and precious stones).

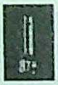
mlekh "goat" (Brahui); *mleccha* "copper" (Sanskrit)

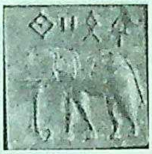
ibha "elephant" (Sanskrit); *ib* "iron" (Santali)

ib "iron;" **sund** "pit furnace;" *sund* = a subterranean passage, a mine, pit, large hole; *koela la lateka sund akata* = they made a deep pit by digging for coal (Santali) **kaṛc ib** = very excellent iron (Ko.)

ib = two; as in *ibbaru* = two persons (Ka.)


(42)

Sign 87 (365)


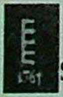
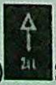
Copper tablets (21)


ib = two (Ka.) Rebus: ***ib*** = iron (Santali) ***ib*** = iron (Ko.); *irumpu* = iron, instrument, weapon (Ta.); *irumpu, irimpu* = iron (Ma.); *ib* = needle (To.); *irimbi* = iron (Kod.); *inumu iḍ* (Te.); *rumba vaḍi* = ironstone (Kui)(DEDR 486). *ibhya* = rich, wealthy (Skt.)

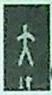
Seal Elephant — Elephant is covered with a saddle cloth (After Scala/Art Resource)

ibha = elephant (Skt.) *ibhi, ibhya* = female elephant (Skt. Ka. Te.) *ibhagati* = a female with the dignified gait of an elephant (Ka.) *ibhapuri* = Hastināpurī (Ka.) *ibhahasta* = an elephant's trunk (Ka.).

The depiction of a saddle cloth on the elephant may also be related to the orthographic significance of depicting a pannier (alternative: *Kac* "waist-belt;" rebus : *Kacc* "iron") on a one-horned bull. It may connote a waist-zone, belt, **kamaraśālā** (Te.); rebus: *kammārasāle* = workshop of a blacksmith (Ka.). When an elephant is shown on epigraphs with such a saddle cloth, the depiction may be of a *kammāra* "smith" involved in ironsmithy: *ib* "iron;" rebus: *ibha* "elephant."


Sign 176 **kaṅgha** "comb" (H.)

Sign 211 (227) bhallaka "arrow"

Rebus: **kaṅga** "furnace" (K.) *bhallaka* "arrow"; *bhallaka* "copper" (Skt.)
Alternative: *śūla* = spear; *śulva* = copper (Skt.)


(11)

- *khuro* (N.) head of a spear; *kṣura* (ṚV) *kuro* silver (Kol.Nk.Go.)(DEDR 1782).

kol "tiger" (Santali); *kola* "woman" (Nahali) *kol* "alloy of five metals" (Tamil)

homa "bison" (Pengo) *hom* "gold" (Kannaḍa); *soma* "electrum" (Vedic)

ranga "bufallo" (Santali); *raṅga* "tin" (Santali)

nāga "serpent" (Sanskrit); *nāga* "lead" (Sanskrit)

adar dangra "brahmani bull" (Santali); *aduru* "unsmelted metal" (Kannaḍa) *thakkura* "blacksmith" (Bihari)

kudur dokke "lizard" (Konda); *kuduru* "portable gold furnace" (Telugu)

satthiya "*svastika* glyph" (Punjābī); *satta, sattva* "zinc" (Kannaḍa); *jasta id*. (Hindī)

kang "rhinoceros" (Gujarātī); *kangar* "portable-furnace" (Kaśmīrī)

tamba "copper" (Gujarātī); *tāmra id*. (Sanskrit); *damra* "heifer" (Gujarātī)

kod "horn" (Kuwi); *kod* "artisan"s workshop" (Gujarātī)

tanga "pannier" (Telugu); *ṭaṅka* "mint" (Sanskrit)

saṅgada "lathe, gimlet" (Gujarātī); *sangada* "jointed animals" (Marāṭhī); *sangada* "furnace" (Gujarātī)

kanda kanka "rim of a short-necked jar" (Santali); *kand* "furnace, altar" (Santali); *kan* "copper" (Tamil); *kanaka* "gold" (Sanskrit)

bata "rimless pot" (Kannaḍa); *bata* "kiln, furnace" (Gujarātī)

kuti "tree" (Telugu); *kuti* "water carrier" (Telugu); *kuti* "kiln, furnace" (Santali)

bahula "pleiades" (Sanskrit); *bangala* "gold furnace" (Telugu)

Each cluster of words listed can also be found in other languages of Bhārat [*bhāratīyo* = caster of metals (Gujarātī)] to explain almost all 400 signs and over 100 pictorial motifs in epigraphs (some are inscribed on weapons and on copper plates (http://*www.hindunet.org/saraswati*). These examples are taken from Sarasvatī encyclopaedia.

It is no mere coincidence that Sarasvatī is adored among Bhāratīya as *ambitame*, a mother who nurtured the emergence of arts and crafts on the banks of the river. The culture which is evidenced to over 5,500 years BP, exemplified by hieroglyphs, continues into historical periods, in the tradition of glyphs on punch-marked coins and use of copper plates for property transactions.

Provenance of Punch-marked Coins

The Sarasvatī civilization *did not* die. It is a cultural continuum which is present even today all over Bhārat.

This holds the key to cracking the code of the hieroglyphs of *bhāratīyo*, caster of metals using these epigraphs to transact across the gulf and along the long water-ways covering about 3000 km distance, say, from Ropar to Ur or from Rakhigarhi (Dṛṣadvatī) to Dāimābād (on Pravara, a tributary of River Godāvarī, not far from Nasik where we celebrate the sacred Puṣkar).

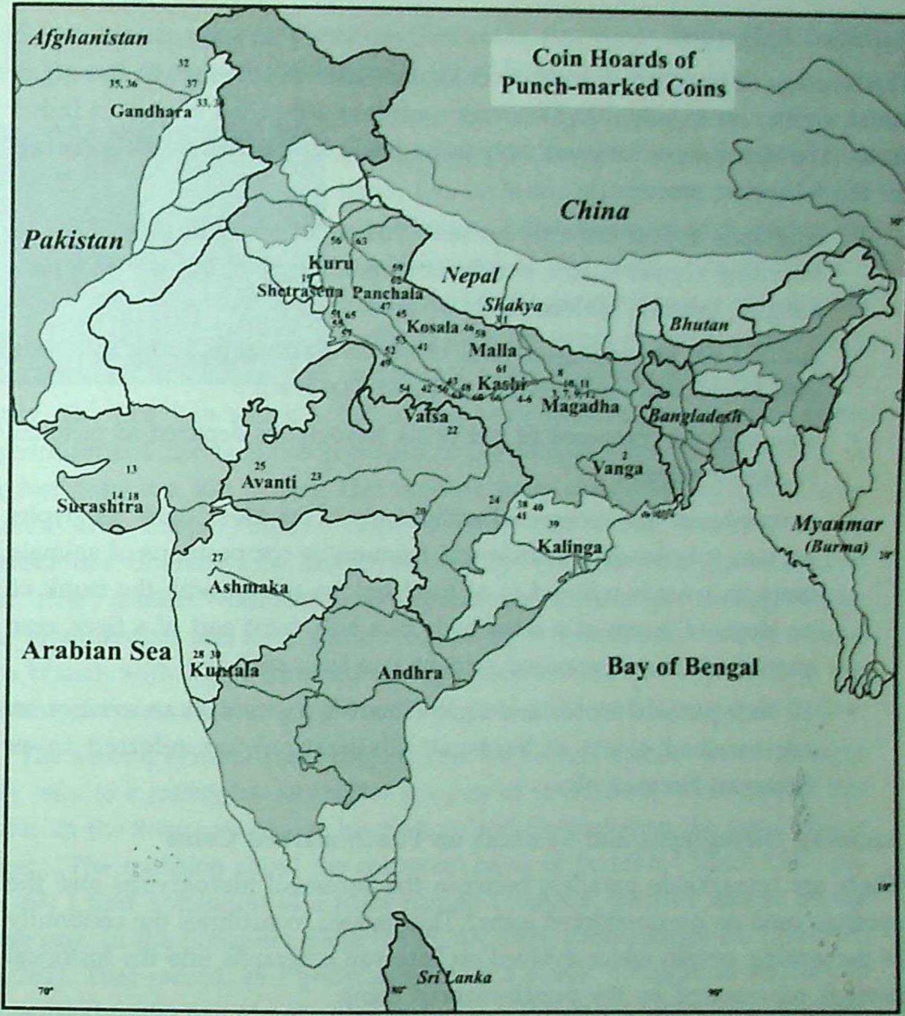
Bhāratīyo are caster of metals (Gujarātī). We suggest that *bhāratīyo* invented Sarasvatī hieroglyphs.

Yes, the same people referred to as Bhāratam Janam by Viśvāmitra Gāthina in the *Ṛgveda*.

Not only steatite or faience seals. But also on copper and silver seals. The Dholavīra sign board. Epigraphs on bangles. Epigraphs on weapons themselves. Epigraphs on copper plates. Epigraphs on gold pendants. Epigraphs on gold fillets: material accessible to casters of metal, *bhāratīyo*.

A remarkable feature of the punch-marked coins listed in a Catalogue of the British Museum (as coins issued by native rulers from the earliest times to about 300 CE) is that they come from all parts of Bhārat. The majority of the weights of the punch-marked silver coins fall between 51.5 and 52.5 grains; some specimens are also found to be 54 grains and 50 grains.

> The find spots. . . . The first is in the extreme north-west: Peshawar, Taxila, Thatta, Shahpur, and Kangra. The second belongs to the Ganges valley: Indor Khera, Pāḍham, Paila, Etawa, Sankisa, Chiriyakot, Mirzapur, Ballia, Patna, Trogna, Belwa, Bodh Gaya, and Bhagalpur. . . . In the west we have a third group: Palanpur, Tambavati Nagari, Jhalra Patan, Sarangpur, Besnagar, and Eran — in southern Rajputana and Malwa, the area between the Aravalli and Vindya mountains, drained by tributaries of the Jumna. The Hingaghat, Thaithari, Karimnagar, and Bimlipatan finds belong to the basin of the Godavari. The Kolhapur, Coimbatore, and Trichinopoli finds appear rather isolated in the south, although the two last are not so remote from each other.


Coin Hoards of Punch-marked Coins
Afghanistan
Gandhara
Pakistan
China
Kuru
Shetrasena
Panchala
Nepal
Shakya
Kosala
Malla
Kashi
Magadha
Bhutan
Bangladesh
Vatsa
Avanti
Surashtra
Vanga
Kalinga
Myanmar
(Burma)
Ashmaka
Arabian Sea
Kuntala
Andhra
Bay of Bengal
Sri Lanka

[After Dr. Dilip Rajgor http://www215.pair.com/sacoins/public_html/maps_chronology.htm]

> This tells us little more than that punch-marked coins are found in what were in ancient times also the most important and thickly populated parts of India.
>
> — John Allan, 1936, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. liv to lv.

An average of five punches, of five symbols each, are found on the obverse of many coins, with another group of four punches are found on the reverse of some coins.

Sarasvatī Epigraphs

This average of punched symbols is consistent with the average of five signs which appear on about 4,000 Sarasvatī epigraphs (so-called corpus of Indus seals). The appellation Sarasvatī epigraphs (in lieu of Indus seals) is chosen for the following reasons:

- epigraphs appear not only on seals but on a variety of objects including copper plates, pendants of gold, copper/bronze weapons, bangles, pottery, tablets, fillets of gold;
- out of 2,600 archaeological sites of the civilization, as many as 80 per cent are located on the banks of River Sarasvatī;
- epigraphs are composed of five or six hieroglyphs depicted as pictorial motifs or signs;
- epigraphs are also recognized without any of the 400+ "signs" in glyphs such as *svastika*, dotted circle and ligatures or compositions of animals (such as what is referred to as the fabulous animal with the trunk of an elephant, horns of a zebu, body of a bull, front part of a tiger, rear part of a bull and upraised serpent as a tail); and
- all such pictorial motifs and signs (about five or six on an average on an inscribed object of Sarasvatī Civilization) are referred to as Sarasvatī Hieroglyphs.

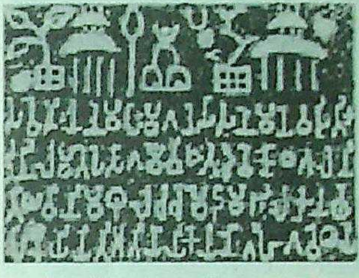
Sarasvatī Hieroglyphs and Symbols on Punch-marked Coins

There are remarkable parallels between the Sarasvatī hieroglyphs and the symbols used on punch-marked coins.[4] This, indeed, constitutes the continuity of the writing system which evolved on Sarasvatī epigraphs into the historical periods represented by the punch-marked coins.

---

[4] Such a similarity has been noted by many scholars, some also suggested that the devices on punch-marked coins are a survival of the Sarasvatī (Harappan) Civilization: Bhattacharya, P.N., A hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea, *MASI*, No. 62, pp. 5ff.; Durga Prasad, Classification and significance of the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins of ancient India, *JASB*, 1934, pp. 217 ff.; Observations on different types of silver punch-marked coins, their period and locale, *JASB*, 1937, pp. 322 ff.; Suryavamshi, Bhagwan Singh, Interpretation of some symbols of the punch-marked coins, *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, vol. XII, No. 2, Dec. 1962, pp. 152 ff.; Fabri, C.L., The punch-marked coins: a survival of the Indus civilization, *JRAS*, 1935, p. 307 ff.; Altekar, A.S., Symbols on the copper band in the Patna museum, *JNSI*, Bombay, vol. IX, Part II, pp. 88-92.

Some devices used on punch-marked coins also occur as the first line of the Sohgaura copper-plate inscription (Fleet 509-532 & Barua 41).



The text of the inscription (which is considered by some, to be of pre-Mauryan days, i.e., *circa* fourth century BCE) refers to some famine relief measures and notifies the establishment of two public storehouses at a junction of three great highways of vehicular traffic to meet the needs of persons (apparently merchants and metal-workers) using these roads. The first line which is full of glyphs or devices should relate to the inscription and the facilities provided to the traders. Next to the symbol of the *koṣṭhāgāra* is a *śūla* (spear). This is phonetically *cūla* "kiln" for metals to be heated and copper/bronze/brass vessels and tools, worked on by metalsmiths. Similarly, the first glyph of a tree on a platform can be read as *kuṭi* "tree"; another word *kuṭi* in Santali means a "furnace" for melting metals. The other devices are: three peaks mounted by a rimless pot, a rim of a jar, a tree branch with a bird perched on top. These can also be explained in the context of Sarasvatī hieroglyphs and the context of metals/minerals-trade.

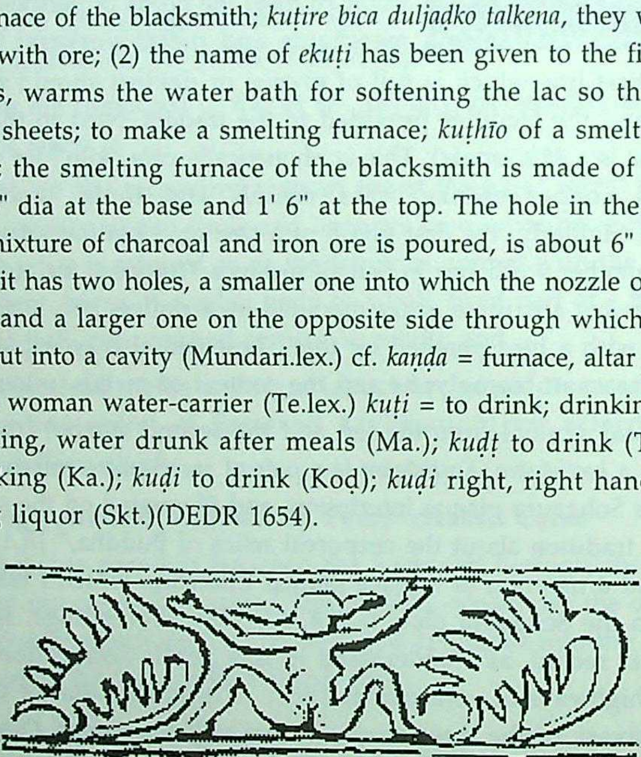
The second symbol from the left and the second symbol from the right may refer to a *koṣṭhāgāra*. *Koṣṭhāgāra* is a pair of storehouses referred to by this name in the Sohgaura plaque inscription, and illustrated on the same plaque (Fleet, "The tradition about the corporeal relics of Buddha," *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 341-63) I find a mention of a place named Chanchu, which I take to be the same one, in the Sohgaura plate (*JASB*, 63, 1894, proceedings, 86, plate; *IA*, 25, 262). That record, as I understand it, is a public notification relating to three great highways of vehicular traffic. . . . It notifies that at the junction, named Manavasi, of the three roads, in two villages named Dasilimata and Usagama, storehouses were made for the goods of people using the roads. It indicates the roads by mentioning in line 3, the three places to and from which they led; as regards the junction of them). They are described as *trigarbha*, having three rooms; Fleet discusses this at length, but it is evident from the illustrations that these rooms are on three storeys, for the storehouses are represented as small three-storeyed pavilions; it is true that the roof of the top storey is "out of the picture," but its supporting pillars can be clearly seen. For another use of *garbha* as designating chambers of a many-storeyed building, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Indian Architectural

Terms, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 48, no. 3, SEPT 1928, pp. 250-75.

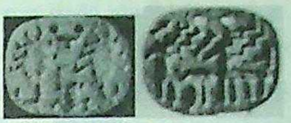
kuṭhi *kuṭa, kuṭi, kuṭha* a tree (Kauś.); *kuḍa* tree (Pkt.); *kuṛā* tree; *kaṛek* tree, oak (Pas.)(CDIAL 3228). *kuṭha, kuṭa* (Ka.), *kudal* (Go.) *kudar* (Go.) *kuṭhāra, kuṭha, kuṭaka* = a tree (Skt. lex.) *kuṭ, kurun*: = stump of a tree (Bonḍa); *khuṭ* = *id.* (Or.) *kuṭa, kuṭha* = a tree (Ka.lex.) *guṇḍra* = a stump; *khuṇṭut* = a stump of a tree left in the ground (Santali.lex.) *kuṭamu* = a tree (Te.lex.)

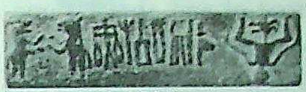
kuṭi, "smelting furnace" (Mundari.lex.) *kuṭhi, kuṭi* (Or.; Sad. *koṭhi*) (1) the smelting furnace of the blacksmith; *kuṭire bica duljaḍko talkena*, they were feeding the furnace with ore; (2) the name of *ekuṭi* has been given to the fire which, in lac factories, warms the water bath for softening the lac so that it can be spread into sheets; to make a smelting furnace; *kuṭhīo* of a smelting furnace, to be made; the smelting furnace of the blacksmith is made of mud, cone-shaped, 2' 6" dia at the base and 1' 6" at the top. The hole in the centre, into which the mixture of charcoal and iron ore is poured, is about 6" to 7" in dia. At the base it has two holes, a smaller one into which the nozzle of the bellow is inserted, and a larger one on the opposite side through which the molten iron flows out into a cavity (Mundari.lex.) cf. *kaṇḍa* = furnace, altar (Santali.lex.)

kuṭi = a woman water-carrier (Te.lex.) *kuṭi* = to drink; drinking, beverage (Ta.); drinking, water drunk after meals (Ma.); *kuḍṭ* to drink (To.); *kuḍi* to drink; drinking (Ka.); *kuḍi* to drink (Koḍ); *kuḍi* right, right hand (Te.); *kuṭī* intoxicating liquor (Skt.)(DEDR 1654).

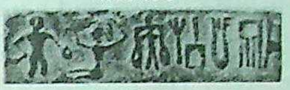


A symbolism of a woman spreading her legs apart, which recurs on an inscribed object. Cylinder-seal impression from Ur showing a squatting female. L. Legrain, 1936, *Ur Excavations*, Vol. 3, *Archaic Seal Impressions* [cf. Rahman-dheri seal with two scorpions flanking a similar glyph with legs apart - also looks like a frog]. Fig. 95; Susa, stamp seal of bitumen compound, Louvre, *MDAI*, 43, no. 1725; a woman shown full-face is squatting with legs apart, possibly on a stool. (A similar image of a woman with legs spread out occurs on an Ur seal impression (not illustrated) and on a Mohenjo-Dāro tablet):

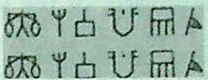




h180A



h180B



h180a

Rahman-dheri 01A and B Rhd1: Two scorpions flanking a frog and a sign T with two holes on the top, possibly to be tied on a string 4304 Tablet in bas-relief Pict-106: Nude female figure upside down with thighs drawn apart and crab (?) issuing from her womb[ii]; two tigers standing face to face rearing on their hindlegs at L. Pict-92: Man armed with a sickle-shaped weapon on his right hand and a *cakra* (?) on his left hand, facing a seated woman with dishevelled hair and upraised arms.

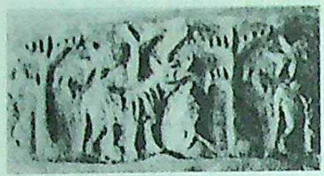
kola foetus (OMarw.)(CDIAL 3607). *kola* = foetus; *koṛo* bosom, breast (S.); *kurouru* breast (Dm.); *koṛī* breast of a quadruped (L.); *kolī* chest of an animal (L.)(CDIAL 3607). *kol* breast, bosom; *kaulā*, *kolā*, *kaulī* id., lap (H.); *krōḍa* breast, bosom (AV.); *kōla* breast, lap (Skt.prob. MIA.); *koṛo* bosom, breast (S.); *koṛī* breast (S.); *koṛī* breast of a quadruped (L.); *koṛa* lap (Or.); *kor* lap (Mth.); *korā* id. (Bhoj.); *kor* womb (H.); *koḷ* lap (M.); *kōla* breast, bosom (Pkt.) *kolī* chest of an animal (L.); *kol* womb (Ku.); *lap* (B.); *kol*, *kolā* lap, hip on which children are carried (A.); *koḷa* lap (Or.)(CDIAL 3607). *kalalam kalala* thin membrane covering the foetus (*Cūta. Jāña.* 10,9)(Ta.lex.).

kuṭhi = the pubes (lower down than *paṇḍe*) (Santali.lex.) *kuṭhi* = the womb, the female sexual organ; *sorrege kuṭhi menaktaea, tale tale gidrakoa* lit. her womb is near, she gets children continually (H. *koṭhī*, the womb)(Santali.lex. Bodding) *kōṣṭha* = anyone of the large viscera (*MBh.*); *koṭṭha* = stomach (Pali. Pkt.); *kuṭṭha* (Pkt.); *koṭhī* heart, breast (L.); *koṭṭhā*, *koṭhā* belly (P.); *koṭho* (G.); *koṭhā* (M.)(CDIAL 3545). *Kottha* pertaining to the *belly* (Pkt.); *kothā* corpulent (Or.)(CDIAL 3510). *Koṭho* [Skt. *koṣṭha* inner part] the stomach, the belly (G.lex.).

The bunch of twigs = *kūdī*, *kūṭī* (Skt.lex.) *kūdī* (also written as *kūṭī* in manuscripts) occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (*AV* 5.19.12) and *Kauśika Sūtra* (Bloomsfield's edn, xliv. cf. Bloomsfield, *American Journal of Philology*, 11, 355; 12,416; Roth, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 98) denotes it as a twig. This is identified as that of Badarī, the jujube tied to the body of the dead to efface their traces. (See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 177).

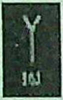
baṭi = a furnace for melting iron-ore (Santali.lex.) *bhaṭṭhī* = [Skt. *bhṛṣti* frying; fr. *bhrasj* to fry] a kiln, a furnace; an oven; a smith's forge; a stove; the fireplace of a washer-man; a spirit still; a distillery; a brewery (G.lex.)

baṭi = a metal cup or basin; *bhaṭi* = a still, a boiler, a copper; *dhubi bhaṭi* = a washerman's boiler; *jhuli bhaṭi* = a trench in the ground used as a fireplace when cooking has to be done for a large number of people (Santali.lex.).



Tree in front. Fish in front of and above a one-horned bull. Cylinder seal impression (IM 8028), Ur, Mesopotamia. White shell. 1.7 cm High, dia. 0.9 cm [Cf. T.C. Mitchell, 1986, Indus and Gulf type seals from Ur in: Shaikha Haya Ali Al Khalifa and Michael Rice, 1986, *Bahrain through the Ages: The Archaeology*, London: 280-81, no. 8 and fig. 112]. "No. 7. . . A bull, unhumped, of the so-called "unicorn" type, raises his head towards a simplified version of a tree, and two uncertain objects, one a sort of trefoil, are shown above his back. Under his head is an unmistakable character of the Indus script, the "fish" with cross-hatchings. . . ." (C.J. Gadd, Seals of Ancient Indian Style Found at Ur, in: G.L. Possehl, ed., 1979, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, p. 117). The "uncertain" glyphs above the back of the bull may be: fish + Y.

The Glyph Y is Like a Fork on Sign 161

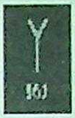


Sign 161 Fork

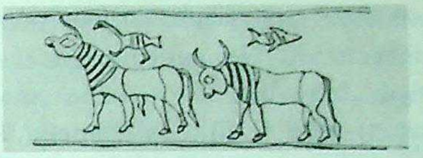
barās carpenter's forked instrument (Tu.lex.).

barca the iron part of a spear (Mu.); cf. ***barchā*** (Oraon.); ***barca*** (Sadani.); ***barci*** (M.); ***barca*** the spear-head when the shaft is of wood, and the whole spear, when the shaft and point are one single piece of iron, in which case the cmpd. ***meṛedbarca*** is used (cf. Pl. IV.A.)(Mu.lex.) [Perh. metath. ***barca*** = ***prāsa***].

7373a.Axe: ***paraśu*** axe (*ṚV*); **parasu** axe (Pali. Pkt.); ***parsā*** hatchet; ***parsiyā*** reaping hook (H.); *porova* axe (Si.); *furō* (Md.); ***pharasu*** axe (Pali. Pkt.); ***phars*** (Ku.); ***pharsā*** long-handled battle-axe (N.); ***pharsā*** axe (B.H.); ***pharśī*** (G.); ***pharas*** battle-axe (M.); ***pharśī*** battle-axe, large chisel (M.)(CDIAL 7799h). ***parśu*** axe (R.); ***paṃsu*** axe (Pkt.); ***pōs*** (Ash.); ***pec*** large axe (Kt.); ***pec, poc*** (Bashg.); ***pāūsi*** vegetable chopper (Or.); ***pihiyal, pihiye, pīhaya*** knife, chopper (Si.); ***pāso*** head of iron instrument such as axe or spade (N.)(CDIAL 7947). ***parśvadha*** axe (Skt.); ***paraśvadha*** (*MBh.*); ***paraśūdhara*** Gaṇeśa, ***Paraśurāma***, a soldier armed with an axe; ***paraśu, parasu*** an axe, a hatchet (Ka. lex.)



kaṇṭa = a fork, grapnel (Santali.lex.)



A fish in front of and over a short-horned bull and a bird over a one-horned bull; cylinder seal impression (IM 87798), Tell as-Sulema (2: 662/236) in Mesopotamia, level IV (Akkadian to early Old Babylonian). Gypsum. 2.6 cm Long 1.6 cm Dia. [Drawing by Larnia Al-Gailani Werr. Cf. Dominique Collon 1987, *First impressions: cylinder seals in the ancient Near East*, London: 143, no. 609]

baṭa = a quail, or snipe, coturuix coturnix cot; *boṇḍe baṭa* = a large quail; *dak baṭa* = the painted stripe, rostraluta benghalensis bengh; *guṇḍri baṭa* = a small type, coloured like a *guṇḍri* (quail); *kũk baṭa* = a medium-sized type; *kheḍra baṭa* = the smallest of all; *laṇḍha baṭa* = a small type (Santali.lex.) *baṭai*, (Nag.); *baṭer* (Has.); [H. ***baṭai*** or *baṭer* perdix olivacea; Saḍ *baṭai*] coturnix coromandelica, the black-breasted or rain-quail; two other kinds of quail are called respectively: *huṛin baṭai* and *gerea baṭai* (Mundari.lex.) *vartaka* = a duck (Skt.) *batak* = a duck (G.lex.) *vartikā* = quail (*ṚV*); *wuwrc* partridge (Ash.); *barti* = quail, partridge (Kho.); *vaṭṭakā* quail (Pali); *vaṭṭaya* (Pkt.); *baṭṭai* (N.)(CDIAL 11361). ***varta*** = *circular object; *turning round (Skt.); *vaṭu* = twist (S.)(CDIAL 11346) *baṭer* = quail (Ku.B.); *baṭara, batara* = the grey quail (Or.)(CDIAL 11350).

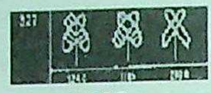
baṭa; rebus, ***baṭa*** "iron"

ās = scales of fish (Santali); *rebus: aya* = iron (G.); ***ayah, ayas*** = metal (Skt.)

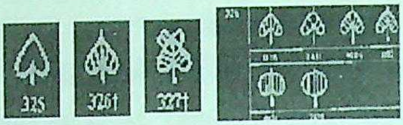
one = *got*. (Santali); *rebus:* ***goṭi*** = silver (G.); bison = *homa* (Pego); rebus: ***hom*** = gold (Ka.)

Take the significance of nine ficus leaves depicted on many inscribed objects.

Emphatic association with nine fig leaves is remarkable. There is a morpheme for "nine" which yields a clue to the rebus message. For counting "nine", Muṇḍa, Santali lexeme: ***lo*** "nine" was used. Since the rebus uses Santali lexeme it is apparent that the numeric counting (often indicated by short linear strokes to connote the count of countable objects) uses Muṇḍa substrate. The Santali numerals are:



V327



V326

mit eka one; *bar barea don* two; *pea pe pene* three; *pon, ponea, car* four; *mõṛe* five; *turui* six:

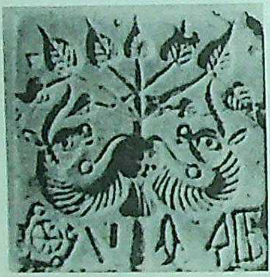
eae sat seven; *iral* eight; *are, lo* nine; *gel* ten.

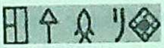
goṭ = one (Santali) Rebus: goṭi = silver (G.).

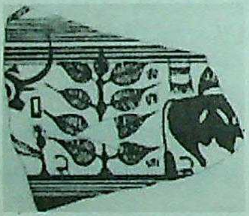
ib = two (Ka.) Rebus: *ib* = iron (Santali) *barea* = two (Santali) Rebus: *barae* = smith (Santali).

tebra = three (G.) Rebus: *tambra* = copper (Skt.).

pon = four (Santali) Rebus: *pon* = gold (Ta.); *hom* = gold (Ka.).



m0296 Two heads of one-horned bulls with neck-rings, joined end to end (to a standard device with two rings coming out of the top part?), under a stylized tree with **nine leaves.**  1387



Zebu and leaves. In front of the standard device and the stylized tree of leaves, are the black buck antelopes. Black paint on red ware of Kulli style. Mehi. Second-half of third millennium BCE. [After G.L. Possehl, 1986, *Kulli: an exploration of an ancient civilization in South Asia*, Centers of Civilization, I, Durham, NC: 46, fig. 18 (Mehi II.4.5), based on Stein 1931: pl. 30

Zebu and leaves. Black painting on red buff ware. Nausharo *c.* 2600-2550 BCE. [After J. F. Jarrige 1988, Excavations at Nausharo: 1986-87, *PA* 23: 149-203: 189, fig. 4.4]

kamaṛkom "ficus religiosa"; rebus: *kampaṭamu* "furnace".

Substantive: *lo* "iron" (Assamese, Bengali); *loa* "iron" (Gypsy) Glyph: *lo* = nine (Santali); *no* = nine (B.) [Note the count of nine "ficus" leaves depicted on the epigraph.].

damadi, dammaḍi = a *kāsu*, the fourth part of a *duḍḍu* or *paisa* (Ka.M.); *damaḍī* (H.) *damṛi, dambṛi* = one-eighth of a pice (Santali) *dammiḍi* = pice (Te.) *tambra* = copper (Pkt.).

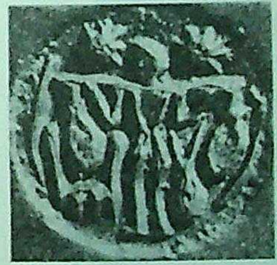
Grapheme: *damaḍi, dammaḍi* = a small tambourine with gejjes (Ka.) Grapheme: *damr̥aṃ* a steer; a heifer; *damkom* = a bull calf (Santali).

Rebus: *damha* = a fireplace; *dumhe* = to heap, to collect together (Santali).

There is an intriguing lexeme ***nyoh*** in Khotanese which connotes "nine". [Whence *y*? *ẖ* from Persian? Belvalkar Vol. 94]. Is it possible that *ñ* in *nyoh* was derived from *loh*? The transformation *lohe>nohe* is attested in Santali. ***lohe, nohe*** = v.a. disregard, disown, disobey (Santali); *nohe* = is not (B.)(Santali.lex.) ***lo*** = nine (now often heard)(Santali); ***lo*** (*desi*); *noe* (B.)(Santali.lex.Bodding).

nava = nine (*R̥V* Pali); *ṇava* (Pkt.); *nau* (D.); *no, nū* (Ash.); *nū* (Wg.); *nū* (Pr.); *nō* (Dm.); *nāh* (Tir.); *nawa, nāu, nā* (Paś.); *nū* (Shum.); *nū* (Gaw.); *nō* (Kal.); *nyoh* (Kho.); *nah, num* (Bshk.); *nom* (Tor.); *naū* (Kand.); *naū* (Mai.); *nōu* (Sv.); *nau, nū, nū* (Phal.); *naū, nāū* (Sh.); *nav, nau, nam, nāu* (K.); *nāva* (S.); *nō, naū, naō* (L.); *naū, nau* (P.); *nao* (WPaḥ); *nau, no* (Ku.); *nau* (N.); *na* (A.B.Or.); *naa* (Or.); *nau* (Bi.Mth.Aw.H.); *nam* (H.); *nova* (Omarw.); *nav* (G.); *nav, naū* (M.); *nav* (Kon.); *nava* (Osi.); *namaya* (Si.); *nuva* (Md.)(CDIAL 6984). *Navaka* consisting of 9 (*R̥V* Prāt.); collection of 9 (R.); *ṇavaga* (Pkt.); *nomu* (K.); *nawwā, nammā* (H.); *navvo* the 9 in cards (G.)(CDIAL 6985).

So, ***lo*** means, nine, ficus; it also means, ***loh***, metal.



It can also be emphasized by the lexeme, ***kamaṭha***, ficus; a lexeme which can also depict a water-carrier, shown with special semantic determinants, say, two stars.

Meteor, to shine *uḷku, uḷuku* (Ka.); ***ulkā*** (Skt.); *uḷku* = to shine (Ka.); *ukkā* (Pkt.) *ulūkhala* (*R̥V*) [Note two stars shown as phonetic determinants of a water-carrier on a Mesopotamian Gadd seal]. ***ukkā***, "stars"; rebus: ***ukkā***, "furnace"; *kā vaḍiyo*, "water-carrier"; rebus: *kamaṭhāyo*, "carpenter"; alternative: *kuṭi*, "woman water-carrier"; rebus: *kuṭhi*, "furnace".

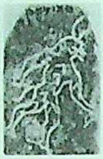
Water-carrier with a star on either side of the head. Dilmun seal impression. Ur (U. 16747). [After Edith Porada, 1971, Remarks on seals found in the Gulf States. *Artibus Asiae* 33 (4): 331-7: pl.9, fig.5]. ***kamaṭhāyo*** can also be depicted by an archer. ***kāmṭhiyo*** archer (G.) ***kāmaṭhum*** = a bow; *kāmaḍī, kāmaḍum* = a chip of bamboo (G.) ***kāmaṭhiyo*** a bowman; an archer (Skt.lex.)

kamaṛkom = fig leaf (Santali.lex.) ***kamarmaṛā*** (Has.), ***kamaṛkom*** (Nag.); the petiole or stalk of a leaf (Mundari.lex.)

This phonetic parallel between a ficus leaf and an archer is dramatically emphasized on some inscribed objects. Pictorially, an archer serves the same semantic function as a ficus leaf: both are represented by the cognate phonemes: ***kamāṭhiyo, kamar.*** [Kamaṭhamu = water jar (Te.)]

Archer, Fig Leaf

m0582At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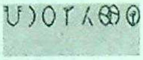
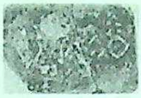

3358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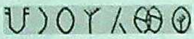
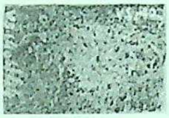

3365 Horned Archer?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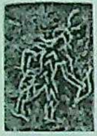
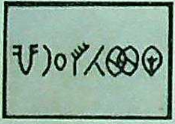
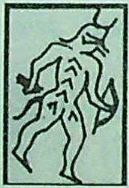
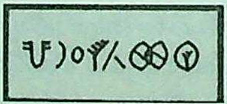

m0588Bt Horned archer.

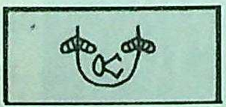
m1540Act

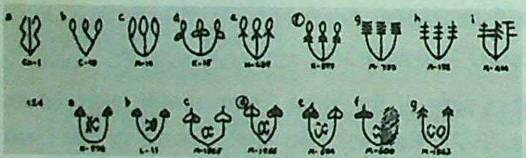
m1540



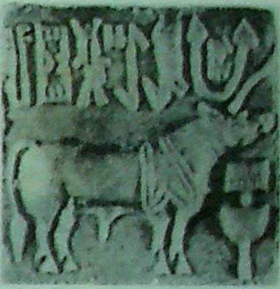


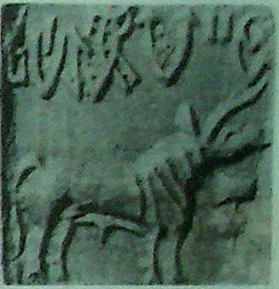





Allographs of a leaf sign, ligature with crab sign [After Parpola, 1994, fig. 13.15]

The archer shown on one copper tablet seems to be a synonym of the leaves ligatured with crab on another copper tablet since the inscription on the obverse of each of the tablets is identical [cf. Parpola, 1994, fig. 13.13] This ligatured sign appears on two seals — one from Harappā and another





from Lothal. Leaves ligatured with crab is a sign which occurs on these seals and with similar sign sequences [cf. Parpola, 1994, fig. 13.12]

The language in which such a synonym can be found is *mleccha*! Proto-Bhāratīya language!

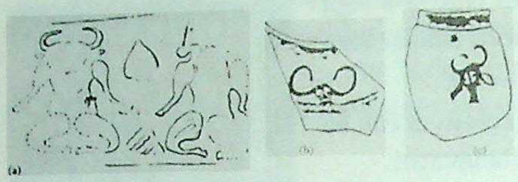
kamaṭamu, kammaṭamu = a portable furnace for melting precious metals; *kammaṭīḍu* = a goldsmith, a silversmith (Te.lex.) *kāpṛauṭ, kapṛauṭ* jeweller's crucible made of rags and clay (Bi.); *kapṛauṭī* wrapping in cloth with wet clay for firing chemicals or drugs, mud cement (H.)[cf. modern compounds: *kapaṛmiṭṭī* wrapping in cloth and clay (H.); *kapaḍlep iḍ* (H.)](CDIAL 2874). *kapaṛmaṭṭi* clay and cowdung smeared on a crucible (N.)(CDIAL 2871).

kampaṭṭam coinage, coin (Ta.); *kammaṭṭam, kammiṭṭam* coinage, mint (Ma.); *kammaṭi* a coiner (Ka.)(DEDR 1236) *kammaṭa* = coinage, mint (Ka.M.) *kampaṭṭāk-kūṭam* mint; *kampaṭṭāk-kāraṉ* coiner; *kampaṭṭā mulai* die, coining stamp (Ta.lex.)

kamaṭhāyo = a learned carpenter or mason, working on scientific principles; *kamaṭhāṇa* [cf. *karma, kām*, business + sthāna, *thāṇam*, a place fr. Skt. *sthā* to stand] arrangement of one's business; putting into order or managing one's business (G.lex.) *kāmāṭī* = a caste of Hindus who are generally labourers and palanquin bearers (G.lex.) *kāmāṭṭi* = labourer, one who works with a hoe, digger of earth (Ta.Ma.) **kabaṛa** = an apparatus; ***kaṭh kabaṛa*** = wood work; *khūh dā* ***kabaṛā***= the machinery of a well (P.lex.)

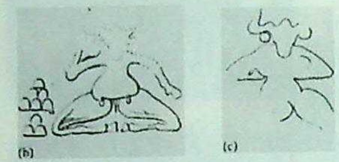
Glyph: **kamaḍha, kamaṭha, kamaḍhaka, kamaḍhaga, kamaḍhaya** = a type of penance (Pkt.lex.)

The *yogī* is in penance. Mohenjo-Dāro. Sealing. Surrounded by fishes, *ghariāls*? (monitor lizards) and snakes, a horned person sits in *yoga* on a throne with hoofed legs. One side of a triangular terracotta amulet (Md 013); surface find at Mohenjo-Dāro in 1936. Dept. of Eastern Art, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



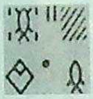
There are objects with epigraphs with a comparable motif of a *yogī*.

Buffalo's horns. Gumla, NW Frontier province. After Sankalia 1974: 354, fig. 88: b (=b), c (=c).



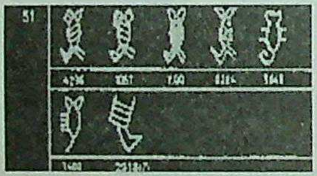
Buffaloes sitting with legs bent in yogic *āsana*. Susa Cc-Da, *ca*. 3000-2750 BC, proto-Elamite seals: (a-c) After Amiet 1972: pl. 25, no. 1017 (=a); and Amiet 1980a: pl. 38, nos. 581-2 (b-c).

m0305AC



2235 Pict-80: Three-faced, horned person (with a three-leaved *pīpal* branch on the crown with two stars on either side), wearing bangles and armlets. Two stars adorn the curved buffalo horns of the seated person **with a plaited pigtail**. The pigtail connotes a pit furnace:

Substantive: *sund* "pit (furnace)"; sum, sumbh a mine, a pit, the opening into a mine, the shaft of a mine; *sum bhugak* the entrance to a mine, pit's mouth (Santali). *suṇḍi* a semi-Hinduized aboriginal caste; this caste are the distillers and liquor sellers; *suṇḍi gadi* a liquor shop (Santali) *cuṇḍ*. to boil away (Ko.); *suṇḍu* to evaporate (Ka.); *cuṇḍu* to be evaporated or dried up (Te.); *śuṇṭhi* to become dry (Skt.)(DED 2662).



Glyph: *sūnd gaṭ* knot of hair at back (Go.); *cundī* the hairtail as worn by men (Kur.)(DEDR 2670).

V051 Sign 51 might have been normalized from an early variant which depicts a mouse or rat seen from the back. There could be two glyphs involved: one, that of *kaca* "scorpion"; rebus: ***kacc*** "iron" and the second, that of rat ***suṇḍa***; rebus: *suṇḍ* "pit furnace". ***suṇḍa*** musk-rat (Ka.)(DEDR 2661)]. ***śuṇḍi-mūṣikā***, *śuṇḍa-mūṣikā* musk-rat (Skt.)(CDIAL 12517).

The glyph of seated person may be analysed with reference to the orthographic details depicted in two parts: one above the waist and the other below the waist.

Glyphs above the waist seem to depict the semant. of kiln, furnace. Glyphs below the waist seem to depict the semant. of workshop.

The substantive property item conveyed by the message is a kiln or furnace (*cuḷḷai*) for native metal (*aduru*).

Rebus: ***cuḷḷai*** = potter's kiln, furnace (Ta.); ***cūḷai*** furnace, kiln, funeral pile (Ta.); ***cuḷḷa*** potter's furnace; ***cūḷa*** brick kiln (Ma.); ***cullī*** fireplace (Skt.); ***cullī, ullī*** *id.* (Pkt.)(CDIAL 4879; DEDR 2709). *sulgao, salgao* to light a fire; *seṅgel, sokol* fire (Santali.lex.) *hollu, holu* = fireplace (Kuwi); *soḍu* fireplace, stones set up as a fireplace (Mand.); ule furnace (Tu.)(DEDR 2857).

[Together with (1) ***cūḍā***, "bracelets," a number of other phonetic determinatives are used in the orthography of the horned, seated person: (2) ***cūḍā, cūlā, cūliyā*** tiger's mane (Pkt.) [note the mane on the face]; (3) ***cūḍa***, "head-dress". The rebus substantive points to: *cūḷai*, "kiln, furnace"].

Mane ***uḷa*** (IL 1240).

uṛa = king's paraphernalia (Ma.).

Rebus: ***aduru*** "native metal" (Ka.).

The face is depicted with bristles of hair, representing a tiger's mane.

cūḍā, cūlā, cūliyā tiger"s mane (Pkt.) (CDIAL 4883).

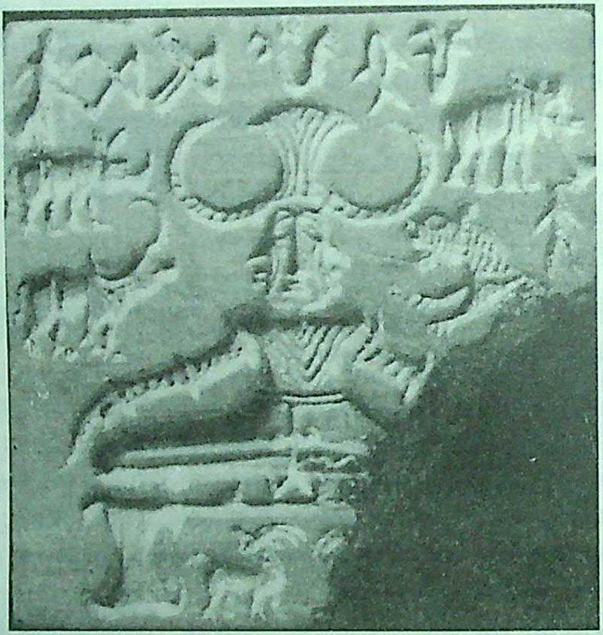
kāruvu = mechanic, artisan, Viśvakarmā, the celestial artisan (Te.); *gāre* = affix of noun denoting one who does it, e.g., *samagāre* = cobbler (Tu.); *garuva* (Ka.); *gaṛuva* = an important man (Te.) ***garia*** = in comp. Possessed of; doer or agent; *badgaria* = wise; *bal garia* = strong (Santali.lex.) gar [Skṭ *kṛ; karavum* = to do] a suffix found at the end of compounds, showing the "doer of an action;" *sodāgar* = a seller; ***kārīgar*** = an artisan (G.lex.). If the pubes of the woman with spread out thighs are connoted by ***kuṭhi***, "furnace;" the pictorial motif together with a foetus emerging out of the thighs is intended to connote a furnace-artisan: ***kuṭhīgaṛuva*** (pubes, foetus) or, alternatively: ***kuṭhīgaru*** (furnace-mould).`

cf. *-kāra suffix*. "worker" (Skt.).

Bristles, erection of hair of the body: ***garu, gaguru*** (Te.) [Note the imagery of bristles on the face of the seated person, almost looking like a tiger's mane. The tiger's mane is: ***cūḷa***; rebus: ***cūḷa*** "furnace, kiln" + bristles ***garu***; rebus: ***gāre*** "important person, worker;" thus the composite glyph can be read as: ***cūḷa gāre*** "furnace-kiln worker"]. See also: Mane ***uḷa*** (IL 1240) ***uṛa*** = king's paraphernalia (Ma.).

karu = embossed work, bas-relief (Ta.); *karukku* (Ta.) *karavi, karu, **garu*** = a mould (Tu.) ***karuvi*** = tool (Ta.)[Thus, when tablets are embossed with glyphs to create objects in bas-relief, the artisan is trying to denote the nature of the function carried out by the-*gāre* "important person;" for example, when a tree is so depicted, it may represent ***kuṭhi gāre*** "furnace worker."]

Foetus ***karuvu, karugu*** (Te.) [Rebus: *gāre* "important person, worker". See the glyph of foetus emanating from a woman with her thighs spread out and lying upside down. *kuṭhi* "pubes"; rebus: ***kuṭhi*** "smelting furnace"; hence, the composite glyph connotes: ***kuṭhi gāre*** = furnace worker.]



The person wears bangles on his arms, from wrist to fore-arm.

cūḍa = bracelet (Skt.); *cūḍa, cūla* bracelet (Pkt.);. *cūr̥o* (S.); *cūr̥, cūr̥ā* (L.P.); *cur̥o* (Ku.); *curo, curi* (N.); *surī* a kind of ornament (A.); *cūr̥, cur̥ā* bracelet (B.); *cūr̥ī* (Or.Mth.); *cūrā* anklet, bracelet (OAw.); *cūr̥ā* ring on elephant's tusk, bracelet; *cūr̥ī* bangle (H.); *cūr̥, cūr̥ī, cūr̥o* (G.); *cuḍā* (M.)(CDIAL 4883). *chur*. bangle, bracelet (P.) *chhurā* (P.) *tsuḍo, tsudéā* (Kon.); *suri, surye* (Koṅkaṇī) [Note the glyph of a horned, seated person wearing bracelets from wrist to forearm].

Alternative rebus of glyphs of person seated on a platform: *hasani* "furnace;" *asani* "seated;" *piṇḍi* "platform;" Rebus: *bhiṇḍia* "a lump, applied especially to the mass of iron taken from the smelting furnace."

The person wears a headdress with twigs; the glyph can be represented by two lexical clusters.

cuḷḷi = dry twigs, small stick, branch (Ta.); a dry spray, sprig, brushwood (Ma.); *cuḷḷai* a chip, fuel stick; *nuḷḷi* small sticks for firewood (Ma.); *cuḷk* long pliable stick, stalk of plant (Ko.)(DEDR 2706).

Rebus: ***kuṭhi*** = furnace (Santali).

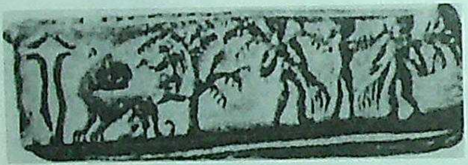
Rebus: ***kundār*** turner (A.); ***kūdār, kūdāri*** (B.); ***kundāru*** (Or.); *kundau* to turn on a lathe, to carve, to chase; ***kundau dhiri*** = a hewn stone; ***kundau murhut*** = a graven image (Santali) ***kunda*** a turner's lathe (Skt.)(CDIAL 3295).

- An orthographic representation is provided by the following ligatured glyphs:

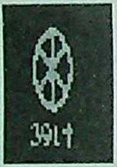
  (1) *cūḍā*, "bracelets", a number of other phonetic determinatives are used in the orthography of the horned, seated person: (2) *cūḍā, cūlā, cūliyā* tiger's mane (Pkt.) [note the mane on the face]; (3) *cūḍa*, "head-dress"].
- Mane *uḷa* (IL 1240) *uṛa* = king's paraphernalia (Ma.).
- The face is depicted with bristles of hair, representing a tiger's mane.
- *cūṇā, cūlā, cūliyā* tiger's mane (Pkt.)(CDIAL 4883).
- *kūtī* = bunch of twigs (Skt.).
- *kundavum* = manger, a hayrick (G.).
- *kuṇḍī* = crooked buffalo horns (L.).
- *kuṇḍī* = chief of village. ***kuṇḍīa*** = village headman; leader of a village (Pkt.lex.), i.e., *śreṇi jeṭṭha* chief of metal-worker guild.
- *khag* "rhinoceros"; rebus: ***kaṅg*** "brazier" (K.).
- *raṅgā* "buffalo"; ***raṅga*** "pewter or alloy of tin (*raṅku*), lead (*nāga*) and antimony (*añjana*)" (Santali).
- *ibha* "elephant" (Skt.); ***ib*** "iron" (Santali).
- *teṅgo* "stand upright"; *kāṭi* "body"; ***taṅkam*** "gold", ***kāṭhi*** "furnace."
- *kol* "tiger" (Santali); *dāṭu* "leap" (Te.); ***kol*** "*pañcaloha*" (Ta.); ***dhātu*** "mineral" (Skt.).
- *mlekh* "antelope"(Br.); ***milakku*** "copper" (Pali).

- *kaṇḍ kanka* "rim of short-necked jar"; copper fire-altar (Santali).
- *beḍa* "fish"; ***beḍa*** "hearth."
- *erā* "claws"; ***era*** "copper."
- *Cire perdue* (lost-wax technique) used for making the Mohenjo-Dāro bronze casting is used even today in Swāmīmalāī, on the banks of River Kāverī, by Viśvakarmā, for making bronze and *pañcaloha mūrti*s.
- Swāmīmalāī has one of the six *aṟupaṭai vīṭu* (lit. six army camps of the commandant), Skanda-Kārttikeya; the deity is called *Ēraka Subrahmaṇya.*
- Eraka! Copper! Molten Cast!

  eraka, hero = a mess-enger; a spy (G.lex.) *heraka* = spy (Skt.); *er* to look at or for (Pkt.); *er uk-* to play "peeping tom" (Ko.).



m0478B tablet *erga* = act of clearing jungle (Kui) [Note image showing two men carrying uprooted trees].

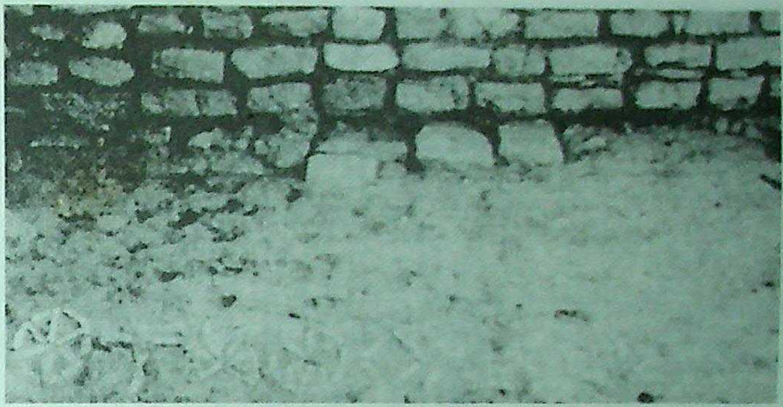


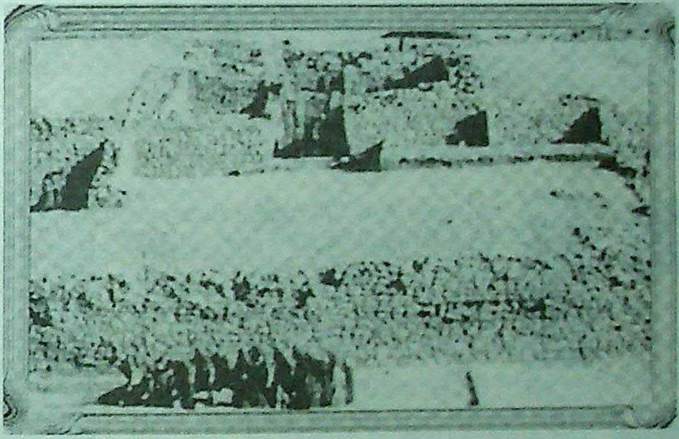
- *era, eṟa* = *eraka* = ?*nave*; *erakōlu* = the iron axle of a carriage (Ka.M.); cf. *irasu* (Ka.lex.).
- *erā* = claws of an animal that can do no harm (G.).
- *era* female, applied to women only, and generally as a mark of respect, wife; *hopon era* a daughter; *era hopon* a man's family; *manjhi era* the village chief's wife; *gosae era* a female Santal deity; *buḍhi era* an old woman; *era uru* wife and children; *nabi era* a prophetess; *diku era* a Hindu woman (Santali).
- Rebus: *eṟṟa* = red; *eraka* = copper (Ka.) ***erka*** = *ekke* (Tbh. of *arka*) *aka* (Tbh. of *arka*) copper (metal); crystal (Ka.lex.) *erako* molten cast (Tu.lex.) *agasāle, agasāli, agasālavāḍu* = a goldsmith (Te.lex.).

Dholavīra Sign board mounted on gate to announce to seafarers: molten cast furnace, mint, moltencast copperwork, native-metalwork, silver; metal-caster-mineral-smith.

era = *knave* of wheel; rebus: ***era*** = copper; ***erako*** = molten cast (G.).

kuṇḍ opening in the nave or hub of a wheel to admit the axle (Santali) ***kuṇḍam, kuṇḍa*** sacrificial fire-pit (Skt.) *khūṭi* = pin (M.) ***kuṭi***= furnace (Santali).





kamaḍha = ficus religiosa (skt.); *kamaṭa* = portable furnace for melting precious metals (Te.); *kampaṭṭam* = mint (Ta.).

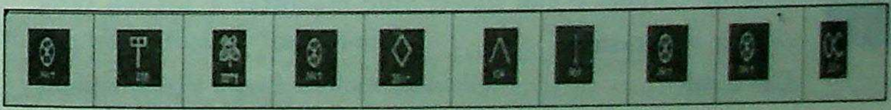
kana, kanac = corner (Santali); *kañcu* = bronze (Te.) ***kan-*** copper work (Ta.).

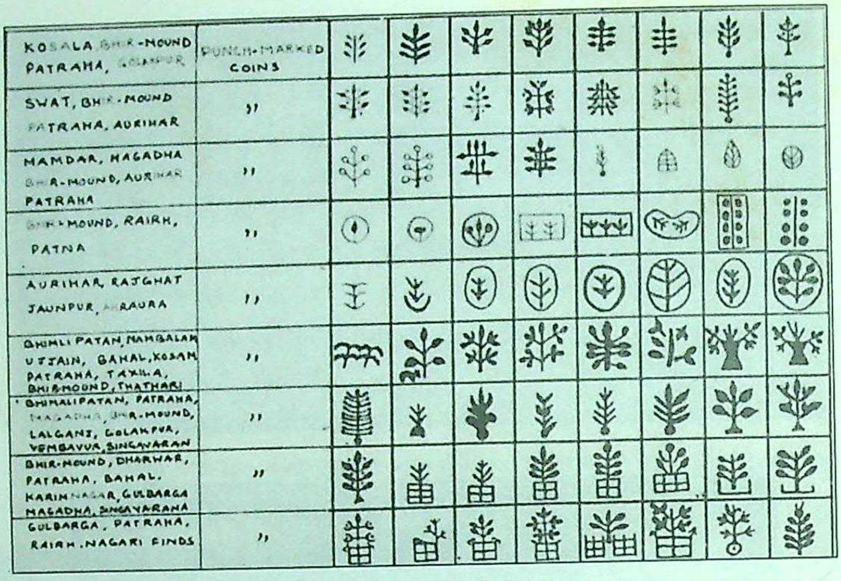
aḍaren, ḍaren lid, cover (Santali) Rebus: *aduru* "native metal" (Ka.).

goṭ = one (Santali); ***goṭi*** = silver (G.).

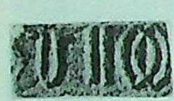
barea = two (Ka.); ***baṛea*** = blacksmith (Santali)[A pair of glyphs showing nave of wheel, i.e., metal-caster-smith].

ḍato = claws of crab (Saṇtali); ***dhātu*** = mineral (Skt.).



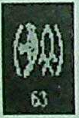

KOSALA BHIR-MOUND PATRAHA, GOLAKPUR
PUNCH-MARKED COINS
SWAT, BHIR-MOUND PATRAHA, AURIHAR
"
MAMDAR, MAGADHA BHIR-MOUND, AURIHAR PATRAHA
"
BHIR-MOUND, RAIRH, PATNA
"
AURIHAR, RAJGHAT JAUNPUR, AHRAURA
"
BHIMLI PATAN, NAMBALAK UJJAIN, BAHAL, KOSAM PATRAHA, TAXILA, BHIR-MOUND, THATHARI
"
BHIMALIPATAN, PATRAHA, MAGADHA, BHIR-MOUND, LALGANJ, GOLAKPUR, VEMBAVUR, SINGAVARAN
"
BHIR-MOUND, DHARWAR, PATRAHA, BAHAL, KARIMNAGAR, GULBARGA MAGADHA, SINGAVARANA
"
GULBARGA, PATRAHA, RAIRH, NAGARI FINDS
"

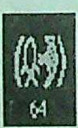
[Pl. 39, Tree symbol (often on a platform) on punch-marked coins; a symbol recurring on many tablets with Sarasvatī epigraphs.]


h723At

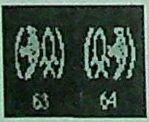
h723Bt

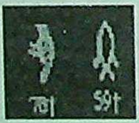
[Glyph: *bala* "bangle"; Substantive: ***bal*** "iron ore"; Glyph: *dohra* "two", Substantive: *dohṭa* "house"; *kaṇḍ* "rim of pot"; *kaṇḍ* "furnace" *kuṭi* = tree (Skt.); ***kuṭi*** = kiln (Santali)].



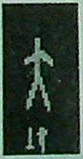


The combination of glyphs of fish and quail; Sign 63 and Sign 64: ***bheḍa*** "fish;" ***beḍa*** "hearth;" ***baṭa*** "quail;" ***baṭa*** "iron;" i.e., furnace for (s)melting iron. ***beḍa*** "ingot" may be connoted by the ligaturing:





Signs 63 and 64, bird and fish Hako, "fish;" ***hako***, "axe;" *baṭa*, "quail;" ***baṭhi***, "furnace;" the ligature ( ) = ***kuṭila saṅgaḍa***, i.e., bronze furnace.



bhaṭa = warrior

bhaṭi = furnace; *bhaṭa* = kiln

vākaran- = soldier

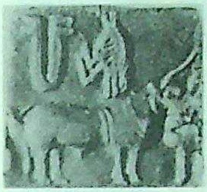
ḍhaṅgar = blacksmith

hako = fish

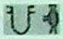
hako = axe

beḍo = a ship, a vessel (G.lex.) *bēḍā* = boat (Skt.)(CDIAL 9308). *bodam* = sail (Santali.lex.)

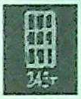
baṭa = a kind of iron (G.lex.) ***bhaṭa*** = a furnace, a kiln; *iṭa* ***bhaṭa*** a brick kiln (Santali)



h452a

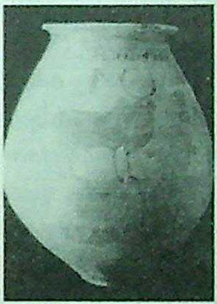
 4124 (bird + rimmed jar) Is it an egret?

baṭa = **a quail or snipe, *coturnis colurnix* (Santali)**



baṭai = to divide, share (Santali) [Note the glyphs of nine rectangles divided.]

Furnace or kiln, native metal, zebu bull



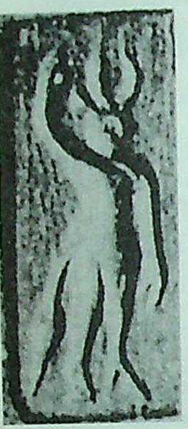
baṭa = quail (Santali) Rebus: ***bhaṭa*** = furnace, kiln (Santali).

A zebu bull tied to a post; a bird above. Large painted storage jar discovered in burned rooms at Nausharo, *ca.* 2600 to 2500 BCE. Cf. Fig. 2.18, J.M. Kenoyer, 1998, Cat. No. 8. Nausharo."Large, painted storage jar with a humped bull tied to a papal or sacred fig tree. A bird, possibly the egret, is sitting on the bull's back. Further along in the panel a wild goat is tied to a tree with ball-shaped leaves or fruit. The goat has alternating hatching to fill the body, while the humped bull is painted solid black. A geometric panel just below the rim has parallels to earlier pottery in this region and from the highlands of Baluchistan to the west. From shape and painted style, however, the vessel was clearly made at Nausharo. The designs were painted in a grey black pigment on top of a buff coloured background. Found in burned rooms of Period ID (2600-2500 BCE) along with several other jars that were painted with similar style and motifs. 46 cm Height, 35 cm Minimum dia. 10 cm Base dia." [After Samssun 1992: 248, fig. 29.3, no.3; JM Kenoyer, 1998, p. 188]

adar ḍaṅgra = brāhmaṇī bull; rebus: ***aduru*** "native metal"; ***ḍhaṅgra*** "blacksmith", that is, "metalsmith".

paghaia ḍaṅgra a pack bullock (Santali) *ḍhaṅgar* = blacksmith

ḍan:gar = bull



M1224d, e two sides of a seal

ḍhagarām = n.pl. the buttocks; the hips (G.)

ḍaṅgo = branch of a tree (Nahali); dagan (Ku.)

ḍénga = to be suspended (Kui)(DEDR 5495)

ḍoṅgor = hill, jungle, forest (Nahali);

doṅgor (Ku.); dōgar = hill, mountain (H.M.)

ḍōgā = trough, canoe, ladle (H.)(CDIAL 5568).

dhaṅkar = shepherd (Nahali); *dhaṅgar* = shepherd (Ko.M.); *dhañgar* = a caste whose business it is to dig wells, tanks, etc. (H.);

adar, adar ḍaṅgra a brāhmaṇī bull, a bull kept for breeding purposes and not put to work (Santali) ***ḍhor*** = cow; *dhottā* = cows, cattle (Nahali) ***ḍhoṛku*** = cattle (Ku.); *ék ḍhaṭṭō* = a bull (Baori-Lahore); *ḍhor* = cattle, beast (H.M.); *dōr* (Ko.); *ḍhōṛk* = cattle (Gondi); *dhoraī* = shepherd (GuB.); *ṭōḍā̃* = cattle (Bhili) ***adaṛ odoṛ, adar udur*** fat and naked, over-grown, unwieldy; *adaṛ odoṛe calaoena* he waddled away (Santali) *dhur* = draught cattle; either oxen or buffaloes; *dhur menakkotaea se baṅ* = has he got plough cattle or not? (Santali) ***anḍren*** (pl. *anḍran*) male, man (Pe.); ***anḍra*** a male animal or bird, male (Kui); ***aṇḍrā*** male (said only of animals)(Kur.); ***aṇḍyā*** fierce, unmanageable (of bulls, bullocks, and male buffaloes)(Kur.); ***aṇḍya*** a bull (Malt.); *aṇḍīra* male (Skt.); *aṇḍirā* id. (Or.)(CDIAL 1111; DEDR App. 7). ***aṇḍga, aṇḍge*** = testicle; ***aṇḍra*** = not effectually castrated (Santali) ***aṇḍia*** = male, of animals, birds and trees (Santali) ***aṇṭar, iṇṭar*** = shepherds (Ta.); ***aṇṭar* id.** (Ma.)(DEDR 125). ***aḍar*** = herd of cows (Koṇḍa); ***aḍer* id.** (Pe.)(DEDR 84). ***dāyaro*** (Persian *dāyareh* a circle fr. *dāyar* fr. *der* revolving, turning, round) an assemblage; a company; a group (G.).

Rebus Lexemes which get Depicted as Glyphs on Epigraphs

aduru = native metal (Ka.); *ajirda karba* = very hard iron (Tu.); *ayil* = iron (Ta.); *ayir, ayiram* any ore (Ma.)(DEDR 192). ***darap*** = metal, excluding iron, money, wealth (Santali) ***darja*** = property, house and stock; *khub darja menaktaea* = he is very well-to-do; *darja* = degree, rank, station (Santali) ***daraṅ, daraṅ daraṅ*** = white hot, blazing hot, glowing (Santali) ***dṛśad*** = a stone (Skt.G.) ***ayas*** metal, iron (RV.); ***ayō*** (Pali); *aya* iron (Pali.Pkt.); ***ya*** id. (Si.)(CDIAL 590). ***yahuṇu*** iron filings (Si.)(CDIAL 589). ***yakaḍa*** iron (Si.); ***ayaskāṇḍa*** a quantity of iron, excellent iron (*Pāṅgaṅ*) ***atar*** = fine sand (Ta.); ***adaru*** = a sparkle (Te.); ***ayir*** = iron dust (Ma.) ***aṭār*** = sand (in Kāṭhiawāḍ)(G.); ***adar*** = the waste of pounded rice, broken grains (Kur.); *adru* = broken grain (Malt.)(DEDR 134).

h178b tablet

ḍēr = heap (Paś); heap, store, granary (K.); ***ḍher*** = heap, large quantity (Ku.); large lump (M.); heap (H.G.) CDIAL 5599).

The early substratum forms are retained in Kannaḍa and Telugu lexemes as: *aḍaru* Cognate: Skt. root ***dru*** = wood.

aḍḍo, arḍu = tree, wood (Nahali) *aḍaru* twig; *aḍiri* small and thin branch of a tree; *aḍari* small branches (Ka.); *aḍaru* twig (Tu.)(DEDR 67). Cf. ***aṭartti*** = thickly grown as with bushes and branches (Ta.) *ḍar* a branch; *dare* a tree; a plant; to grow well; *baṅ darelena* it did not grow well; *toa dare* mother, the support of life (Santali).

cavuḷam, cauḷam = tufted hair; *cūḍākarumam* (Ta.lex.). *cūḍā* = topknot on head; *cūlikā* cockscomb (Skt.); *cūlā* ceremony of tonsure (which leaves the topknot)(Skt.); *cūḷa* = crest; *cūḷā* topknot (Pali); *cūḍā, cūlā, cūliyā* topknot, peacock's crest (Pkt.); *culā* hair of head, lock, headdress (B.); *cūṛ* topknot, ceremony of tonsure (H.)(CDIAL 4883). ***cūḷwar*** = a grown-up woman wearing all her plaits of hair (Kho.)(CDIAL 4886). ***cauḍa*** = relating to tonsure (Skt.); *caula* (Mn.ĀśvGr.); *cōlā* shaving the head (Pkt.); *coḷē* tonsure of a child's head (M.)(CDIAL 4936). [Note the seven women with plaited hair: ***cavuḷa*** [plaited hair; rebus: *cavaṭu*, lead-silver ore (fuller's earth) + ***bagalā*** (pleiades; rebus: *baṅgalā* goldsmith's furnace); the reading is: ***cavaṭu baṅgalā*** = furnace for lead-silver ore].

Stone Quarry

paṇe ground that is worked; tillage; a quarry (Ka.Ma.); *paṇai, paṇṇai* (Ta.); *paṇṇeya, paṇya, paṇe* a farm, a landed estate (Ka.lex.) *bāṅggar* land dependent on rainfall; hard, barren soil (P.lex.) cf. *vānam-pārtta-pūmi* id. (Ta.lex.) *banjrī* land irrigated by canal water alone (P.lex.) *paṇe* quarry; *kalpaṇe* quarry where red laterite stones are cut (Tu.lex.) *paṇai, paṇṇai* agricultural tract, garden (Ta.); ***paṇa*** ground which is worked (including stone-quarry (Ma.)(DEDR 3891). *paḍuku* stone (Te.); *paṇku* id. (Koṇḍa)(DEDR 3890).

paṇai pipal (Ta.); ***paṇi*** id. (Ka.)(DEDR 3895).

phaṇī, phaṇīdhar, phaṇīndra a large serpent (G.); *phaṇā, phaṇī* the hood of a serpent (G.); ***pheṇa*** [Dh. Des. *phaḍā*; Hem. Des. *phaḍam* fr. Skt. *phaṇā*] the hood of a snake (G.) *paṭam* cobra's hood (Ta.Ma.); *peḍe* id. (Ka.); *paḍaga* id.

(Te.); *paṛge, baṛak, baṛki, biṛki* hood of serpent (Go.); (*s*)*phaṭa, sphaṭā* a serpent's expanded hood (Skt.); *phaḍā* id. (Pkt.)(DEDR App. 47; CDIAL 9040).

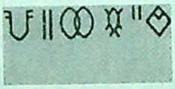
ḍhoṇḍ-phoḍo [M. *dhoṇḍā*, a stone] a stone-cutter, a stone-mason; *ḍhoṇḍ-jhoḍo* [M. *dhoṇḍā* a stone + *jhoḍavum*] a stone-cutter; a stone-mason; *ḍhoṇḍo* a stone; a blockhead; a stupid person (G.).

dhõṇḍ a species of snake found in water; *bitkil dhõṇḍ, raj dhõṇḍ, ayaṅ dhõṇḍ* (Santali) *ḍoṇḍyā* water-snake (Kol.); *ḍonḍuli, dhōndī* (Go.); *duṇḍubha* (Skt.)(DEDR 2985; CDIAL 6411)[iii].

That silver metal — ***khurā*** — is conveyed by the glyph (hoof on the legs of the stool) is reinforced on other epigraphs where a seated person is shown with hooked snakes rearing on either side of the platform. Since silver ore occurs with lead, the snake glyph may be read as: ***nāga*** "snake" (Skt.)[iv] Rebus: ***nāga*** = lead (Skt.) ***nāg*** lead (K.); *nāga* id. (Skṭ); ***nan*** lead (Sh.)(CDIAL 7040). cf. ***anakku*** = lead, tin (Akkadian). On glyphs of composite animals, a hooked snake is depicted as a tail of the animal composite. ***xolā*** = tail (Kur.) Rebus: ***kol*** "metal" (Ta.) Thus conveying lead-metal: *nāga kol* cf. *tuttunākam* = zinc (Te.); *tuttunāgamu* = zinc, pewter (Te.)

m0453At

m453BC



1629 Pict-82

Person seated on a pedestal flanked on either side by a kneeling adorant and a hooded serpent rearing up.

khura silver (Nk.); *kuruku* "whiteness"; *kuru* brilliancy (Ta.); *kuro* silver (Kol.Nk.Go.) (DEDR 1782). *koru* = bar of metal (Ta.)

bhallaka = a kind of copper, enumerated under the eight *pisācalohāni*, or copper coming from Piśāca country (Pali.lex.)

pāḷa = ingot of gold or silver (Ka.)

bhalwa = an instrument used by blacksmiths when punching holes in iron to guide the punch (Santali) ***bhāloḍum*** = the spear-head fixed at the end of an arrow (G.lex.)[5] *phala* = point of arrow (Kauś.); blade of knife (*Mbh.*); point of arrow or sword (Pali); point of arrow (Pkt.); *phal* = blade of mattock, tip of arrow (K.); *phal* = blade (P.N.B.); *phaḷā* blade (Or.); *phaḷī* = arrowhead (Or.); *phal* = blade (H.); *phaḷ* (G.M.); *phaḷẽ* = spearhead (M.); *pharhā* = blade, nib (P.) *bhalla* = a kind of arrow (*Mbh.*); *bhallī* = arrowhead of a particular shape (Skt.); *bhalla* = spear (Pkt.); *bāla* (K.); *bhālo* (S.Ku.N.); *bhālā* = spear, crescent-headed arrow (Or.); spear for driving an elephant (Bi.); spear (Mth.M.); large spear (H.); *bhālū* = spear (G.)

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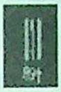
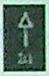
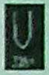
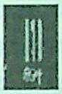
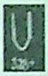
[5] Homonym: ***bhalāṇḍē*** = the half-pot or the shard which, with fire in it, the gosāyī or the *gondhaḷī* people hold on their hand; *gondhaḷī* are musicians and singers; *gondhaḷ* = a tumultuous festivity in propitiation of *devī* (M.lex.) ***bhāliyo*** — a waterpot (G.lex.).

 (44)  Copper tablets (29)  (124) Sign 89 (314)

 Sign 89 ***rakha*** = three (G.)[v] Rebus: ***raṅku*** = tin (Santali)

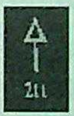
 *śila* = rocks (Skt.).

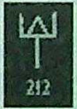
meṛgo = rimless vessels (Santali) The rimless vessel occurs on 323 epigraphs according to statistics from Mahadevan corpus.

Rebus: ***meḍ*** iron (Ho.); *mērhēt* "iron" (Santali) ***meruku*** = lustre, shine, silver (Ta.) *meruku* glitter, luster, polish (Ta.); *merugu* shine, luster (Te.); *meṛacu* glitter (Te.); *mēr* to shine (stars)(Kuwi); *merxā* sky, heaven (Kur.); *mergu, merge* sky, heaven (Malt.)(DEDR 5074). The early meaning could be: "silver".

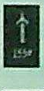
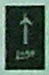
Substantive: *paghal* pig-iron (Santali).

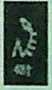
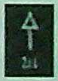
Glyph: *pagari, pagaḷi* arrow, dart (Tu.); *pakaṛi* arrow (Ta.Ma.)(DEDR 3806).

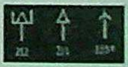




Alternative homonym: ***kundu*** (S.) spear[VI] ***bhalwa*** = arrow with spearhead (Santali) Rebus: ***bhallaka*** = a kind of copper (Skt.)

 (10) **Sign 155 (49)** 

 (10)  (24)

 Sign 155: ***kaṇḍa, kāṇḍa, kāḍe*** = an arrow (Ka.) ***kāṇḍ, kāṇ, kōṇ, kā, kāṛ*** arrow (Paś.); ***kā̃ḍī*** arrow (G.).

Rebus: ***kaṇḍ*** = altar, furnace (Santali).

Glyph: ***kaṇ*** = arrow, wooden handle of a hoe, pickaxe or other tool (Ta.)(DEDR 1166).

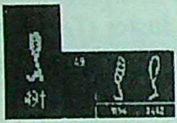
Rebus: *kaṇ* = copper (Ta.).

śilī dart, arrow (Skt.).

śila rocks (Skt.)

khuro (N.) head of a spear; *kṣura* (ṚV), sharp barb of arrow (R.); *khurā* iron nail to fix ploughshare (H.) *khura* = razor (Pali) ***cōi, cō*** sickle (Wg. ***kṣaurī***); ***kṣaura*** performed with a razor (VarBr.S.); n. shaving (Skt.); ***kṣaurī*** knife (Skt.); ***çhōra*** knife (Dm.); ***çhor*** (Kal.) — ***khaura*** razor (Pkt. influenced by Skt.)(CDIAL 3756).

kurappam currycomb (Ta.Ma.); ***korapa, gorapa*** id. (Ka.); ***kurapamu, koṛapamu, goṛapamu*** id. (Te.)(DEDR 1771). ***kharāramu*** id. (Te.lex.) ***currycomb*** a comb consisting of a series of upright serrated ridges, for grooming horses (English)(Doubleday lex.)[cf. *curry* rub down with a comb and brush thirteenth century; Sp. ***correar*** prepare (wool) for use; OF. ***correier*** arrange, equip, curry (a horse); ***curry favel*** rub down the fallow or chestnut horse, which, for some obscure reason, was taken as a type of perfidy or duplicity; hence ***curry-comb*** (ODEE)].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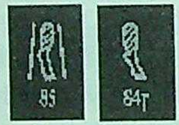
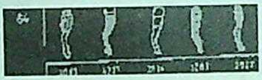


V084

Thigh = *khura* (KātyŚṛ), *kuracu, kuraccai* = horse's hoof (Ta.), *kuḷampu* = hoof (Ta.) *kuṛaku* (Ma.) *kūṭa* = hip (Tu.) *kurki* = thigh (Go.) Glyph: ***khura*** = hoof (Santali) *kūṭa* = hip (Tu.) *kurki* = thigh (Go.).

māṛ a chaplet sometimes worn by bridegrooms and brides at marriage (Santali) *moḍa* a kind of chaplet worn by females on auspicious occasions (G.) *maṇḍana* an ornament, a decoration; jewels; trinkets; adorning (G.) fr. *maṇḍ* (Skt.) *maṇṇu* to do, perform, adorn, decorate, polish (Ta.); *maṇai* to create, fashion (Ta.); *manayuka, maniyuka* to fashion, form earthenware, make as a potter (Ma.)(DEDR 4685).

Glyph: platform: *maṇḍhwa, maṇḍua, maṇḍwa* "a temporary shed or booth erected on the occasion of a marriage"; *maṇḍom* "a raised platform or scaffold"; *māṛom* "a platform, used to keep straw on, or from which to watch crops" (Santali) *maṇai* low wooden seat, low earthen dais, wooden base of cutting instruments, footstool (Ta.); *maṇi, maṇe* stool, low bench, seat (Ka.); *maṇe* low stool to sit upon (Tu.)(DEDR 4675).

Rebus: ***maṇḍā*** = warehouse, workshop (Kon.lex.) *maḍhī, maḍhuḍī* a hut, shed, a cottage (G.) *maṇi* jewel of office (Skt.); *maṇiyam* office of the village headman (Ta.); superintendent of temples, palaces, villages (Ma.); *maṇev, maṇyev* the office of manager (Ko.); *maṇiya, maṇiha, maṇeya, maṇe* superintendent of temples, *maṭhs*, palaces, custom-houses (Ka.); *maṇigāre* revenue inspector (Tu.); *maṇiyamu* office or duties of the manager of a temple (Te.)(DEDR 4674).

Glyph: seated: *asan maṇḍao* "to sit tailor-wise for a long time, to sit about with nothing to do; lazy; to lie down, as an animal in its lair"; *asan maṇḍao akanae, hokrho kan leka* "he has taken up his position as if he were a watchman" (Santali) *maṭku* squat, squab, fat and short (Santali) *asan maṇḍao, paṭgaṇḍo* to squat, to sit tailorwise (Santali).

māḍa = shrine of a demon (Tu.); *māḍia* = house (Pkt.); *māḷa* a sort of pavilion (Pali); māḷikai = temple (Ta.)(DEDR 4796).

cūḷai = kiln; ***cuḷḷai*** = furnace (Ta.). ***culli*** = a fireplace, a cooking stove, ole (Ka.) *culli* = a fireplace, a hearth, a funeral pile (Te.). ***culā sagaḍī*** = a portable hearth or stove of iron, clay, etc. (G.). **culī, culḍī** = a small fireplace, a hearth; ***culo, cūl, cūlo*** = a fireplace, the hearth; a stove (G.). ***culha*** = a fireplace; *mit achia culha* = a fireplace with one opening; *bar achia culha* = a fireplace with two openings (Santali).

cuḷḷi = dry twigs, small stick, branch (Ta.); a dry spray, sprig, brushwood; *cuḷḷai* = a chip, fuel stick (Ma.); long pliable stick, stalk of plant (Ko.)(DEDR 2706).

cūḷi = scales of fish (Ma.)(DEDR 2740).

cuila, coelo = sharp, pointed (Santali) ***śūla, śūle, suḷa, sūla, sūḷa*** = a sharp or pointed weapon: a pike, a spear, a lance; *śūli* = spearman; *śūlika* = piercing, killing (Ka.)

cūl = pregnancy; *cūli* = pregnant woman (Ta.); *cūl* = pregnancy (Ma.Ka.); *cūlu* = pregnancy, child, offspring; *cūli* = child, offspring; *cū̃ḍi* = pregnancy (Te.); *sūl* pregnant (animal)(Kuwi)(DEDR 2733).

eruvai copper, blood (Ta.); *ere* a dark-red or dark-brown colour (Ka.)(DEDR 817). *ere* black soil (Ka.)(DEDR 820). *kẽṛẽ kõṛẽ* an aboriginal tribe who work in brass and bell-metal (Santali) *keṛe seṅgel* fire in a pit (Santali).

Glyph: *garuḍa* eagle (Skt.) [*garuḍa bar goṭan* two eagles duplicated; *koḍ* place where artisans work; *koṭ fort*].

Substantive: *garāḍo, garāḍ* a ditch, a pit (G.).

Substantive: *garaḍo, garoḍo* A priest of the pariahs (G.).

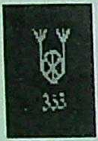
ero = watering place for cattle (G.).

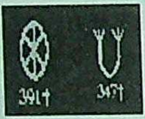
eru = a serpent (G.).

eṛaka = upper arm, wing (Te.) [Note the orthographic emphasis on the wing of a bird].[6]

kundan = pure gold (G. Persian); the socket of a gem (G.) ***kundanamu*** = fine gold used in very thin foils in setting precious stones; setting precious stones with fine gold (Te.lex.) ***kundamu*** = one of the seven *nidhis* of Kubera (Te.) ***kunda*** = a city of *vidyādharas* (Pkt.lex.) *kuntan-am* = interspace for setting gems in a jewel; fine gold (Ta.); *kundaṇa* = setting a precious stone in fine gold; fine gold; *kundana* = fine gold (Ka.); *kundaṇa* = pure gold (Tu.).

kundār turner (A.); ***kūdār, kūdāri*** (B.); ***kundāru*** (Or.); ***kundau*** to turn on a lathe, to carve, to chase; ***kundau dhiri*** = a hewn stone; ***kundau murhut*** = a graven image (Santali) ***kunda*** a turner's lathe (Skt.)(CDIAL 3295).[7] Sign 355 seems to ligature sign 347 and sign 391 (Sign 391 depicts the opening in the nave or hub of wheel and also six spokes: ***arā* + *kund***





kuṇḍ= the opening in the nave or hub of a wheel to admit the axle (Santali); ***kund ruka*** = a gouge, a chisel with which circular holes are made in wood; *sagaṛ kund* = the opening in the nave of a wheel to receive the axle (Santali.lex.)

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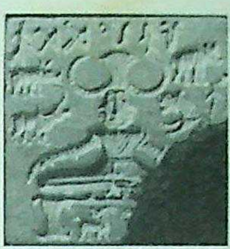
[6] Substantive: *araka* a plough with bullocks complete (Ta.); *are* a plough (Malt.)(DEDR 198).

[7] ***Kundakara*** turner (Skt.); *kundrār* (A); *kūdār, kūdāri* (B.); *kundāru* (Or.); *kūderāone* who works with a lathe, one who scrapes (H.); *kūderīf.*; *kūdernā* to scrape, plane, round on a lathe (H.)(CDIAL 3297). *guḍigāṛa* a turner, one whose occupation is to form wooden articles (also the plaything called cakra, hubble-bubbles, etc.) with a lathe and to cover them with shellac of different colours; *guḍ uguḍi māḍuvavanu* id. (Ka.)(Ka.lex.) *kūdā, kōdā* to turn in a lathe (B.); *kunnā* to shape on a lathe (H.); *kuniyā* turner (H.); *kunwā* turner (H.) (CDIAL 3295). Wood-worker: *cundakāra* turner (Pali); cunāro maker of wooden vessels (Ku.); *cunāro, canāro, cūdāro* id. (N.) (CDIAL 4862). *cunda* wood or ivory work (Skt.); ivory worker (Pali); *cundibā* to do woodwork (Or.) CDIAL 4861). ***kuni ruka*** a gouge (Santali.lex.) ***kṣnōtra*** whetstone (*ṚV*. ii.39.7) Vedic.lex.)



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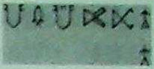


2420

kundavum = a manger, a hay-rick (G.lex.) ***kundhavum*** = a heap of hay or sticks (G.lex.) ***kuntam*** = haystack (Ta.); *kuttaṟi* = a stack, a rick (Ka.)(DEDR 1724). [Note the haystack on the stool on which a person sits.]

kūḍ = basin (G.).

kunda = a pillar of bricks (Ka.); pillar, post (Tu.Te.); block, log (Malt.); ***kantu*** = pillar, post (Ta.)(DEDR 1723). ***kunda*** = a post or pillar (Te.).

kuṇḍ = a pit (Santali) ***kuṇḍamu*** = a pit for receiving and preserving consecrated fire; a hole in the ground (Te.) ***kuṇḍam, kuṇḍa*** sacrificial fire pit (Skt.) ***kuṇḍa*** an altar on which sacrifices are made (G.)[vii] ***guṇḍamu*** fire-pit; (Inscr.)

kuṇḍī = chief of village. *kuṇḍīa* = village headman; leader of a village (Pkt.lex.)

khūṭro = entire bull; *khūṭ* = brāhmaṇī bull (G.) ***khunṭiyo*** = an uncastrated bull (Kāṭhiāwāḍ G.lex.) *kunṭai* = bull (Ta.lex.) cf. *khũdhi* hump on the back; *khuĩdhū* hum-backed (G.)(CDIAL 3902). The zebu is: ***khūṭ,*** a brāhmaṇī bull, a bull found even today in many parts of Gujarat, roaming the streets of Ahmedabad, for instance. The word may connote the rebus of ***kuṭhāru,*** armourer or weapon maker (metal-worker), also an inscriber or writer. ***khũṭaḍum*** a bullock (used in Jhālāwāḍ)(G.).

kuṭṭāra = sexual intercourse (Skt.lex.) ***kūṭamu*** = copulation (Te.lex.).

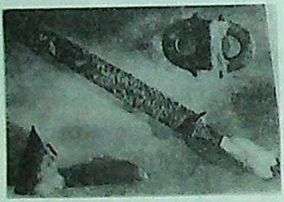
kuṭaru = cock (according to the commentator Mahīdhara (*VS* 25.4.4), the word is synonymous with *kukkuṭa*, cock. The word is found in the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā* only (*TS* 5.5.17.1; *Maitrāyaṇī S.* 1.1.6, 3.14.4.20, 4.1.6; *VS* 24.23.39; cf. Zimmer, *Altindischen Leben*, 93; cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 160). *kuṭru, guṭru* = cooing of a pigeon (Ka.Te.)(DEDR 1667).

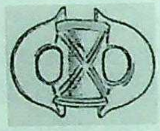
kuṭhāru = a monkey (Skt.lex.) *guṇḍaṅgi* = the white-faced black ape (Te.lex.)

kuṭha = crooked, bent (Santali.lex.) *kuṭi* = id. (Skt.lex.).

kuṭhāra = axe (Vedic.lex.) cutter "knife" (Latin); *kuṭhārais ṭaṅkais* = with axes and spades; *kuṭ, kuṭṭ* = to split (Vedic) (Surya Kanta, 1989, *A Grammatical Dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic)*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, p. 72). *kuṭhāraka* = an axe (*Rāmāyaṇa*); a small axe (Bhartṛ 3.23); *kuṭhārika* = a wood-cutter (Skt.lex.) *kuṭṭāka* = cutting (Pāṇ 3.2.155). *guṇḍra* = to cut into pieces, to make fine or small (Santali.lex.) ***kuṭāri, kōṭāri, kōṭāli*** axe (Ta.); *kōṭāli, kōṭāḷi* id. (Ma.); *koḍali* (Ka.); *koḍari, kuḍari* (Tu.); *goḍḍali, goḍḍeli, goḍḍéli, goḍḍélu, goḍali* (Te.); *golli, golī* (Koḷ); *ghoḷi* (Nk.); *koḍli* (Nk.); *goḍel* (Go.); *gor̥el(i)* (Konḍa); *kūr̥el* (large variety axe)(Pe.); *krāḍi* (? for *kr̥a?li, gláli* large axe (Kuwi)(DEDR App. 32). *kuṭhāra, kuṭhāri* (Beng. Or. forms have *l* for *r*) (CDIAL 3244; cf. Burrow, *BSOAS* 35.541). ***kuddāramu, kuddālakamu, kuddālamu*** = a sort of spade (Te.lex.) *kuṭhāra* axe (R.); *kuṭhāraka* (VarBr.S); *kuṭhārī* (Pali); *kuḍhāra, kuhāḍa* (Pkt.); *kuhār̥o* (S.); *kuhār̥ā* (L.P.); *kulhār̥ā* (P.); *kurhār̥ī* (WPah.); *kulyār̥o, kulyār̥* (Ku.); *kur̥āl, kur̥ul* (B.); *kur̥āla, kurār̥ha, kurhār̥i, kurāri* (Or.); *kulhāri* large axe for squaring logs (Bi.); *kulhār̥ā* axe (H.); *kuhār̥o, kuvār̥ī* (G.); *kurhāḍ* (M.); *keṇeri* (Si.); *keṭeri, keṭériya* long-handled axe (S.)(CDIAL 3244).

kuḍi = a large hoe, the Indian digging implement, the *kudali; ṭamni kuḍi* = a narrow bladed kudali; *guji kuḍi* this pattern has the hoe in the middle of the handle; *kaṭa kuḍi* a pronged hoe; *ṭhaḍia kuḍi* the pattern handled like a hoe; *saheb kuḍi, angreji kuḍi* the English pattern of *kudali;*





kuḍi sakam the blade of the *kudali* (Santali.lex.) [Note the pictorial of "leaf"; it may be read as "sakam" or leaf, i.e., the metal blade of a weapon]. *guji kuḍi* = a *koḍali* or hoe worked by taking hold of both ends of the handle (Santali.lex.) *kaṭa kuḍi* = pronged hoe; *kaṭa kaṭi* = cutting; to slash, kill (Santali.lex.). *kata* = a pit saw; *kat* = a steel spur put on a fighting cock; ***kaṭi*** = a screw, nail (Santali.lex.) ***kaṭa*** = leg and foot from the knee downwards; *sim kaṭa* = a fowl's foot; *bhiḍi kaṭa* = sheep's trotters; *hor̥ kaṭa* = a man's foot (Santali.lex.).

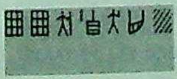
Dagger and axes found in an Ur grave Sumerian double-bladed axe, Ur [V. Gordon Childe, 1929, *The Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., Fig. 72 b].

Double-bladed Sumerian axe, Ur

Copper tablet (Double-edged battle-axe): Mohenjo-Dāro M 0592B

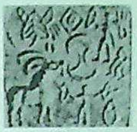
m0592At

m0592Bt

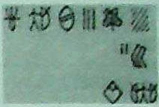


3413

Pict-133: Double-axe (?) without shaft. [The sign is comparable to the sign which appears on the text of a Chanhu-Dāro seal: Text 6422, Chanhu-Dāro Seal 23].



Chanhu-Dāro 23



6402 Goat-antelope with a short tail. The object in front of the goat-antelope is a double-axe.

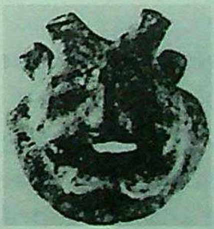
"A third type of axe that now appears for the first time has two blades; it is in fact the oldest double-axe." (Childe, *op.cit.*, p. 179).

khoṇḍ square (Santali).

kuṇḍī crooked (of buffalo's horns)(L.); *kuṇḍā* a bullock whose horns have been turned (L.)(CDIAL 3260). *khuṇḍhā* blunt (P.)(CDIAL 3899).

The tradition of working with ***kol***, an alloy of five metals is exemplified by the use of the term, ***pañcamaśāle*** (lit. five metals workshop) to connote a brazier's shop; it is also exemplified by the name assigned to the entire region on the upper reaches of banks of River Sarasvatī as ***pāñcāla*** and the use of the term ***pañcāḷa*** to connote five artisans:

pañcāḷa, pāñcāla (***pañcakāruka***) = the five classes or caste of artificers: goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, braziers, and stone-cutters (Ka.M.); the first three classes; a goldsmith (Ka.) *pāñcāḷa* = an association of five guilds, viz., those of the carpenter, weaver, barber, washerman, and shoemaker (Skt.); or, those of the carpenter, brazier, ironsmith, goldsmith, and stone-mason (Ka.) ***pañcamaśāle*** = a brazier's shop; ***pañcamaśāleyava*** = a brazier (Ka.) ***pañcāṇamu*** = handicraft, handcraft, manual occupation; a workshop; *pancāṇudu* = an artisan, a mechanic, a handicraftsman (Te.) *pañcama* = dexterous, clever (Ka.).



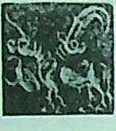
har401 Harappā 1993: H93-2093/4093-1: terracotta "mask;" tiger's maw, human eyes and possibly moustache and bovine.

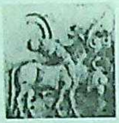
pāñcālika = a doll, a puppet, an image carved on pillars (Te.) *pāñcālike, pāñcāla* = a doll, a puppet; *pāñcālikānīka* = an image, *pratime* (Ka.).

The standard device occurs in over 1,000 epigraphs, generally shown in front of the one horned heifer. It is suggested that this device is a ligature composed of a gimlet drill lathe superimposed on a portable furnace which is represented by the bottom vessel. The device was clearly an important part of the lives of the people who created the epigraphs; it is shown being carried in a procession; a replica of the device also exists in the round. There is one lexeme in Bhāratīya languages which explains the ligatured components: *saṅgaḍa*. The rebus substantively is consistent with other glyphs denoting the property items of braziers.

Metal Alloys

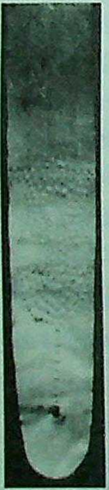
It is possible to compose a Sarasvatī epigraph without any signs and with just the use of ligatured glyphs of animal motifs as in m1171 and Amri06 inscribed objects:


m1171


Amri06 Ligatured animal *saṅgaḍi* = joined animals (M.)

saṅgaḍa = army; *jaṅgaḍiyo* = military guards who carry government treasury from one place to another; *jāṅgaḍ*= things given for approval (taken without definite settlement of purchase).

The ligatures represent alloys of three metals: ***raṅku*** "tin" (rebus: *raṅku* "deer"); ***tambra*** "copper" (rebus: *damra* "heifer, steer"); ***hom*** "gold" (rebus: *homa* "bison"). Antelope looking back is ***kammāra*** "smith"; rebus: *krammara* "to return, turn back".



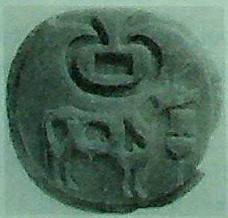
pāeṛẽ = overflow channel of a tank (Santali).

Rebus: articles of joint family (*pāeṛẽ*) (Santali).

Detail of gold fillet with punctuated design of standard device at both ends of the gold fillet. (After Fig. 7.32, Kenoyer, 1998).

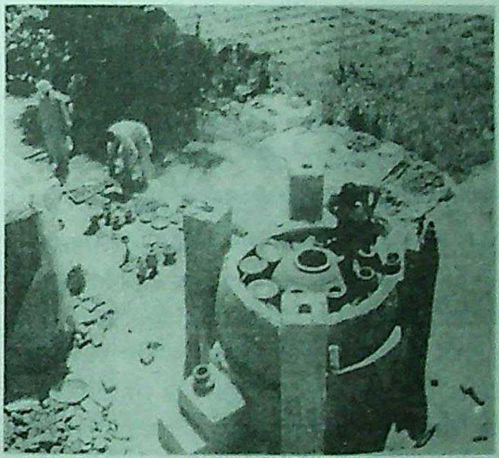
***jaṇḍ kaṇḍ* (Lathe, furnace) Standard device: *saṅgaḍa*,** portable furnace, lathe.

saṅghāḍo, saghaḍī (G.) = firepan; ***saghaḍī, śaghaḍi*** = a pot for holding fire (G.) [*culā sagaḍī* portable hearth (G.)].

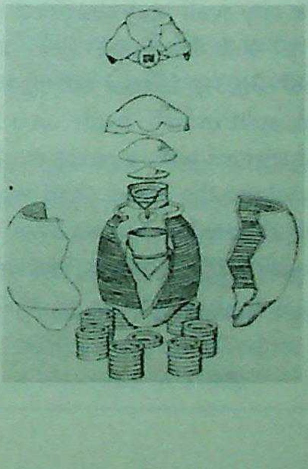


(Note the churning motion using a gimlet and emanating smoke depicted on the upper register of the lathe device and the dotted circles on the bottom vessel; both are mounted on a central "stele"). [Note the "stele" found in fire-places in Kalibangan, Banawali and Dholavīra and other Sarasvatī River's ancient settlement sites.]

Large updraft kiln, Harappā (*ca.* 2400 BCE), found in Mound E, 1984. (After Fig. 8.8, Kenoyer, 1998). A full-scale reconstruction of the ancient Harappan kiln. Harappā Archaeologcal Research Facility used to fire large storage jar, pottery and figurine replicas. (After Fig. 8.9, Kenoyer, 1998).



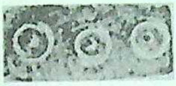
Mohenjo-Dāro, DK-B, C dumps. View of the slag with the coated sub-cylindrical bowl enclosing the stoneware bangles in central position. (After Fig. 1, Massimo Vidale, 1984).



(Note the churning motion using a gimlet and emanating smoke depicted on the upper register of the lathe device and the dotted circles on the bottom vessel; both are mounted on a central "stele.") The dotted circles which appear on the bottom vessel on m008 are also seen on miniature tablets and other inscribed objects.

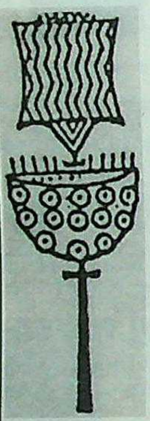
h353A

h353B

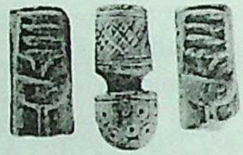

h353C

Miniature tablet, incised with 3 dotted circles similar to the ones found on the bottom vessel.

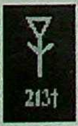
[Reconstruction after I. Mahadevan, 1984, pp.165-86.]



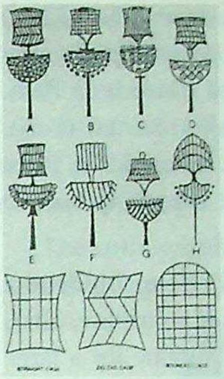
[Note the "stele" found in fire-places in Kalibangan, Banawali and Dholavīra and other Sarasvatī River's ancient settlement sites.]



Carved Ivory Standard in the middle har501 Harappā 1990 and 1993: representations of "standard device" (a) faience token (top portion ends in a sharp edge like a gimlet); (b) standard device (top portion has cross-hatches, perhaps to denote a churning motion; the bottom portion has dotted-circles, perhaps to denote perforation using a gimlet); (c) faience token. "Although this object is split in half, it was clearly made on a lathe and probably was cylindrical in shape. The top of the object is finished and incised with a circle motif, while a broken spot on the lower portion indicates where the stand shaft would have been." [From Richard H. Meadow and Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, *Harappa Excavations 1993*: the city wall and inscribed materials, in: *South Asian Archaeology* ; Fig. 40.11, p. 467. Harappā 1990 and 1993: representations of "standard"; 40.11a: H90-1687/3103-1: faience token; 40.11bH93-2092/5029-1: carved ivory standard fragment, split in half, made on a lathe and was probably cylindrical in shape; note the incisions with a circle motif while a broken spot on the lower portion indicates where the stand shaft would have been found in the area of the "Mughal Sarai" (located to the south of Mound E across the Old Lahore-Multan Road); 40.11c H93-2051/3808-2: [faience token]



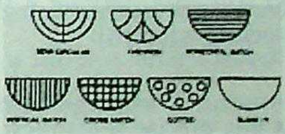
A stylized standard device? *saṅgaḍa*, "portable furnace."

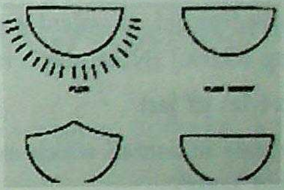


Various representations of the "standard" shown generally in front of the one-horned bull on inscriptions (Drawing by G. de Vries, cited in During Caspers, *South Asian Archaeology*, 1987, p. 250).

Since the "standard device" is associated with the one-horned bull, a representation of a commander of an army of a fort, it is a reasonable hypothesis that the "elephant" motif also was a rebus representation of some artefact related to the army, perhaps as an array or category of attack weapons. It is noted that one seal text associated with the pictorial motif, the elephant, is repeated 11 times out of about 100 clay tags found at a burnt-down warehouse at Lothal.

Styles of the bowl (or bottom portion of the standard); Styles of depiction of "flow" and lip treatment on the bowl (or bottom portion of the standard); cf. Rissman 1989: 162.





Styles and structure of the standard and the top portion (cage?); cf. Mahadevan 1984: 185; Rissman 1989: 162. The top portion resembles a drill-lathe and a drill-head (gimlet). The wavy lines inscribed are a stylized depiction of "turning motion" of the lathe. The style depicted as G is related to the practice of inserting the upper pivot of the drill-head into a coconut-shell; see below.

saṅgaḍa, portable furnace, lathe; ***saṅghāḍiyo***, a worker on a lathe; *saṅghāta*, killing; *jaṅghāḍiyo*, military guard accompanying treasure into the treasury (G.)

See the ligatured lathe, with smoke emanating from a portable furnace (m008: ***saṅgaḍi***); see the cage-like component on the device (m026: ***kūṭu***); see the device carried on a person's shoulder (h196); see the pointed edge of the top part of the device, suggesting a gimlet of a lathe on inscribed objects (m1203: ***tamiru***); the device is also known from Harappā as an ivory object in the round (discovery by Meadow and Kenoyer during the archaeological campaign at Harappā in 1998).

śagaḍī (G.) = lathe *saṅgāḍo* a lathe; *sãghāḍiyo* a worker on a lathe (G.lex.) ***sãghāṛo*** lathe (G.); ***sãgaḍ*** part of a turner's apparatus (M.); ***sãgāḍī*** lathe (Tu.)(CDIAL 12859). ***jaṇḍī*** a lathe (S.lex.) ***jaṇḍ khaṇḍ*** ivory (Jat.ki.lex.) Perh. ***saṅgaḍi*** lathe ***aṅgāḍi*** shop? cf. ***saṃyuta*** joined with (AV.); joined (Pali); ***saṃjua*** (Pkt.); ***saṃyauti*** mixes (VS.)(CDIAL 12988). cf. ***aḍa, aḍe, aḍi*** the piece of wood on which the five artisans put the article which they happen to operate upon, a support (Ka.)(DEDR 86).

Dotted circles are ligatured on the device. A dotted circle could be a semantic determinant of the device, a portable furnace. *kaṇḍi* = furnace, altar; *khandha* = a trench used as a fireplace when cooking has to be done for a large number of people (Santali.lex.) ***kandaka*** = a ditch, a trench (Ka.); *khandaka* (M.H.Te.)(Ka.lex.) This lexeme can be denoted by the dotted circle which is often depicted on ivory (***khaṇḍ***) objects.

jaṇḍ ***khaṇḍ*** = ivory (Jaṭki) ***khaṇḍī*** = ivory in rough (Jaṭkī); *gaṭī* = piece of elephant's tusk (S.) [This semant. may explain why the dotted circle — i.e., *kandi*, "beads" — is often depicted on ivory objects, such as ivory combs]. See also: ***khaṇḍiyo*** [cf. *khaṇḍaṇī* a tribute] tributary; paying a tribute to a superior king (G.lex.) [Note glyph of a kneeling adorant].

kaṇḍ kanka (rim of jar)

There is a phrase in Santali which explains this precise semantics: *kaṇḍ kanka* (not *kaṅka*, but *kanka*).

kaṇḍ is a homonym which connotes a fire altar, furnace.

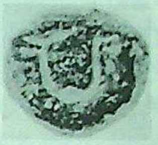
kanka in Sanskritization becomes *karṇaka* (rim of a jar); *kanka* is a metal in Pali; *kanaka* is form of gold in Samskṛtam *kan* in Tam means copper (as in *kannār* "coppersmiths").

Thus, the glyph of the rim of a short-necked jar connotes a copper furnace.

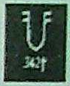
As to why a particular way of representation should be chosen is a matter for speculation on the imperative which created a writing system, in the first place. I agree with James Muhly that writing was closely linked with the metallurgical artefacts which were being created in the transition from the chalcolithic (copper-stone) to bronze (copper alloy) phases. I think the creation of an alloy to harden copper meant a massive revolution in relating life to material phenomena. This alloying created an array of hard weapons: sickle, dagger, axe, adze, plough-share to help in organized farming, jungle clearance, furniture or boat-making and so on and in cultural (including agri-cultural) advances of ploughed fields with inter-cropping.

The alloy needed *pāṣāṇa* (arsenic), *raṅga* (tin), *jasta* (zinc). There were alloys of exotic *pañca-loha* (in Tamil *kol* "five metal alloy"); rebus: *kol* "tiger;" *kolimi* "smithy, forge" (Telugu). This *kolimi* can be represented by a glyph: *kolom* "sprout of rice plant". This indeed is the early glyph reported on BBC and noted as the earliest writing system dated to *circa* 3300 BCE found on a potsherd at Harappā in the 2000 excavations.

The orthographic emphasis is on the rim of the jar. The most frequently occurring sign is Sign 342 with over 1395 occurrences



Daimabad



Sign 342 (1395)

kaṇḍa = an earthenware pot having a neck a little longer than that of a *ṭhili*, but otherwise of about the same shape as this, only somewhat larger; *ghaṛa kaṇḍa* = a waterpot of brass (Santali.lex. Bodding) *kankha* = brim, rim of a vessel (Santali); *kãkh; kannā* (H.)(Santali.lex.Bodding) ***kandal, kandalu, kandlu*** = a small earthen water-vessel (Ka.); ***kaññal*** (Ta.); *kandel* (Tu.)(Ka.lex.)

kaṇḍ = a furnace, altar (Santali.lex.)

Rebus reading: *kaṇḍ* = furnace; *kan-* = copper work; i.e., a furnace for copper work.

kañ = copper work, *kaññār toṛil* (Tamil.lex.) ***kaṅka loha*** = a type of metal (Pkt.lex.) [?*khani* = mine (VarBr.S.); *khaṇi* = mine (Pkt.); *khani* (A.); *khan* (H.); *khaṇ* = mine, quarry (M.)(CDIAL 3813); cf. *khana* = a trench, a pit, a hollow in the ground (Santali.lex.)]. ***khaṇṇa*** = that which is dug (Pkt.lex.) [*koṭṭūkkaññār* = coppersmiths using drill; braziers who work by beating plates into shape, not by casting; *koṭṭūccempu* = copper pot made by beating plates into shape; *koṭṭu* = perforate (Ta.)]

kol, tiger woman! Rebus: Alloy of Five Metals

There is a language called Nahali on the banks of River Tapatī not far from *Oṁkāreśvar* (OṀ comes from the sound of a *śankhanāda. Śaṅkha* found in Gulf of Khambat, Gulf of Kutch, Makran coast (Magan!), Gulf of Mannar near Kīṛakkarai, Tiruchendur), not far from the Gulf of Khambat cultural complex submerged by the incursion of *sindhu sāgara* about 10,000 years ago. This language Nahali has a word, *kōla*. The lexeme means: "woman, wife".

On the banks of River Narmadā are found speakers of Nahali (Nagarī), the language 'isolate' with words from Indo-Āryan, Draviḍian and Muṇḍa

— which together constitute the Indic language substratum of a linguistic area, *ca.* 3300 BCE on the banks of Rivers Sarasvatī and Sindhu — a region referred to as Meluhha in Mesopotamian cuneiform records; hence the language of the inscribed objects can rightly be called Meluhhan or *Mleccha*, a language which Vidura and Yudhiṣṭhira knew (as stated in the Great Epic, *Mahābhārata*).

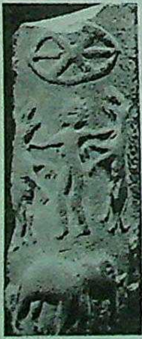
Elsewhere in the Great Epic we read how Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāṇḍava brothers, continued his march of conquest till he reached several islands in the sea (no doubt with the help of ships) and subjugated the *Mleccha* inhabitants thereof. *Brahmāṇḍa* 2.74.11, *Brahma* 13.152, *Harivaṁśa* 1841, *Matsya* 48.9, Vāyu 99.11, cf. also *Viṣṇu* 4.17.5, *Bhāgavata* 9.23.15, see Kirfel 1927: 522:

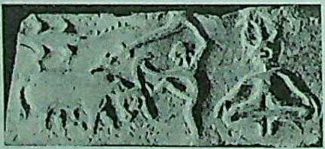
> *pracetasah putraśatam rājānah sarva eva te* ।
> *mleccharāṣṭrā-dhipāh sarve udīcām diśam āśritāḥ* ॥

which means, of course, not that these "100" kings conquered the "northern countries" way beyond the Hindukuṣ or Himālayas, but that all these 100 kings, sons of Pracetas (a descendant of a "Druhyu"), kings of *mleccha* kingdoms, are "adjacent" (*āśrita*) to the "northern direction," — which since the Vedas and Pāṇini has signified Greater Gāndhāra. (See also: Kirfel, W., *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn : K. Schroeder 1927.)

Feline figurine terracotta. A woman's face and headdress are shown. The base has a hole to display it on a stick. (After JM Kenoyer/Courtesy Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan.)

A terracotta ligature unearthed in 2000 by the Harappā Harvard Project shows a tiger ligatured to a woman. *Kōla* "woman", *kol* "tiger", *kol* "alloy of five metals", *kolimi* "smithy, forge". This was the clincher. The code of the hieroglyphs was summarily, conclusively, emphatically cracked. Glyph after glyph can be explained rebus simply within a narrow range of metalsmiths' world, metalsmiths' repertoire and competence.





"The motif of a figure grasping two felines (usually tigers) by the neck is found on another tablet from Harappā (the twisted terracotta example illustrated) and on tablets and seals from Mohenjo-Dāro. One of those from Mohenjo-Dāro appears to depict a male with genitalia (Parpola, 1994, p. 247 and Franke-Vogt, 1991; Taffel XXXV: 248). Other

examples are not so clear, but they have usually been assumed to represent males. As a likely female, the figure from Harappā conforms in sex with depiction of a composite female-bovine figure grasping a horned tiger on a seal from Mohenjo-Dāro (Franke-Vogt, 1991: Taffel XXXVI: 263). A Parpola (1994, p. 246) points out, the "contest" motif is one of the most convincing and widely accepted parallels between Harappan and Near Eastern glyptic art." In the Harappan case, however, bulls and lions are replaced by tigers, and females as well as males are depicted as "hero(ine)". Another interesting feature of the tablets is that whereas the bovine especially are depicted as clearly male, the sex of the human figures is often not so evident." [Richard Meadow and Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, 1997, Excavations at Harappa 1994-1995: new perspectives on the Indus script, craft activities, and city organization, in Raymond Allchin and Bridget Allchin, 1997, *South Asian Archaeology 1995*, Oxford and IBH Publishing.]

kōl = woman, wife (Nahali); *kōḻna kupra* = the wife's cloth (Nahali); *kōlama* wife (Ko.); *kolay* wife (K.); *kulis* wife (Ta.Burgandi dialect); *khuliśī* id. (Yerukala); *khulsā* husband (Malar); *kola* = bride, son's (younger brother's) wife (Kui).

kola, kolum = a jackal (G.) ***kolhuyo*** (Dh.Des.); ***kulho, kolhuo*** (Hem.Des.); *kroṣṭṛ* (Skt.) *kul seren* = the tiger's son, a species of lizard (Santali) ***kolo,*** *koleā* jackal (Kon.lex.) Jackal: *kuṟi-nari* jackal (*Kur-ṟā*. Tala. Vēṭañvalaṃ 13)(Ta.); id. (Ma.)(Ta.lex.) *kul* tiger; *kul dander den* of tiger; *aṇḍkul* to become tiger; *huduṛ* to growl as tiger; *maraṇ ḍaṭkap kul* a big-headed tiger (Santali.lex.) *kōlupuli* = a big, huge tiger, royal or Bengal tiger; *kōlu* = big, great, huge (Te.lex.) *kula* tiger; syn. of *maran*: *kula, burukula, kamsikula*, the striped royal tiger; syn. of *maran*: *kula, laṛokula*, the brown royal tiger without stripes; syn. of *huṛin*: *kula, soncita*, leopard: *siṅkula* = the lion; *kindorkula, kinduakula* = the panther; *tagukula* (lit. the shaggy tiger), the hyena; *ḍurkula*, a smaller feline animal, which when attacking a man bites him in the knee, probably a tiger-cat; *kulābin*: collective noun for all dangerous animals; *kulabin*: to become infested by dangerous animals; *kla* (Khasi.Rongao) tiger (Mundari.lex.) *kroṣṭṛ* = jackal (RV.); *krōṣṭu* = id. (Pāṇ); *krōṣṭṛ* = crying (BhP.); *koṭṭhu, koṭṭhuka, kotthu, kotthuka* = jackal (Pali); *koṭṭhu* (Pkt.); *koṭa* (Si.); *koṭiya* = leopard (Si.); *kōlhuya, kulha* = jackal (Pkt.); *kolhā, kolā* jackal; adj. crafty (H.); *kohlū, kohlū* jackal (G.); *kolhā, kolā* (M.)(CDIAL 3615). Fr. *kruś* = cry, call; *krōśati* cries out (RV)(CDIAL 3613). *Koṭho* = a call, a messenger; *koṭha* invitation; *koṭhaṇu* = to send for (S.)(CDIAL 3614). *Koś* to abuse, curse, blame (Gypsy); *kosnā* to curse (H.); *kosṇā* (P.); *akoś* to abuse (Gypsy); *krośati* cries out (RV)(CDIAL 3612). *krośa* shout (VS); *kurū* voice, word (*Paś*); *kosā* curse (H.)(CDIAL 3611). ***kuḷ*** = the tiger, filis tigris; *kul eṅga* = tigress; kul seren "the tiger's song", a species of lizard (Santali)

kōḷ "planet" rebus: *kol* "metal"; ***kol*** = *pañcaloha*; ***kollañ*** "smith" (Tamil)

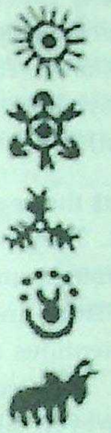
Animals? Why animals? Because *pasaramu* means animals; and rebus: *pasra* means "smithy". Animal after animal, glyph after glyph — both signs and pictorial motifs (field symbols) can be explained as metals, minerals, furnaces. Why should an animal occupy a major segment of an epigraphed object? It was integral to the message as were the string of an average of five signs, dominated by the rim of the narrow-necked jar and rimless, wide-mouthed pot. The latter was *baṭa* "wide-mouthed, rimless pot"; rebus: *bhaṭa* "kiln". I have already explained the rim glyph as *kaṇḍ kanka* (not *kaṅka*, but *kan-ka*).

The language *Mleccha* is spoken by Vidura and Yudhiṣṭhira. *Mleccha* also means "copper;" cognate *milakkhu* "copper" (Pali). The *bhāratīyo* (caster of metals — Gujarātī) were transiting from a chalcolithic (copper-stone) phase to bronze (alloying) phase. They had landed on a revolutionary invention which was to change their lives for ever, creating a Bhāratīya civilization.

While the occurrence at random of some glyphs of Sarasvatī epigraphs on punch-marked coin devices may not prove continuity of the writing system into historical periods, the fact that a repertoire of glyphs consistently appear on punch-marked coins all over Bhārat should not be brushed aside lightly. They are not mere totem symbols, they should have been instantaneously recognized — by the creators and users of the coins alike — in the native languages of the metal-workshops in which the devices were punched on the coins. If we can assign words to each of the hieroglyphs found on Sarasvatī epigraphs and corresponding devices found on punch-marked coins, we may be able to discern a code used for the hieroglyphs.

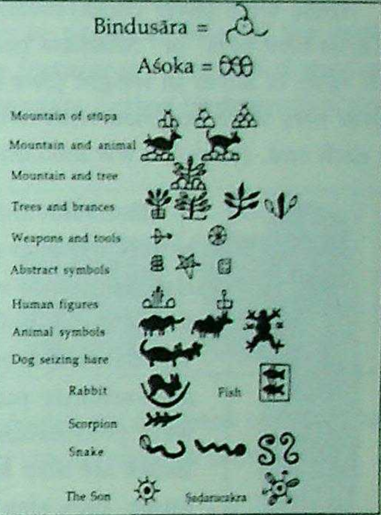
This, indeed, is the case, as will be discussed further in this monograph in the context of the tools-of-trade of metal-workers, property items such as minerals, metals and furnaces used by the metal-workers.

The thesis of this monograph is that this cultural continuity which is evidenced all over Bhārat constitutes a key to decode the hieroglyphs, using the ancient versions of languages of Bhārat. From Taxila to Magadha, from Magadha to Coimbatore, the symbols on punch-marked coins are remarkably consistent and would have been understood in the languages of the regions where such coins have been discovered.



Representative Symbols appearing on Punch Marked Coins

http://www.rbi.org.in/currency/museum/c-ancient.html


Bindusāra =
Aśoka =
Mountain of stūpa
Mountain and animal
Mountain and tree
Trees and brances
Weapons and tools
Abstract symbols
Human figures
Animal symbols
Dog seizing hare
Rabbit
Fish
Scorpion
Snake
The Son
Sadaracakra

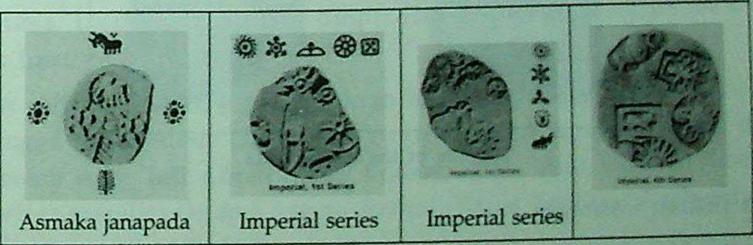
This is the reason why cracking the code of the hieroglyphs uses the ancient versions of the languages of Bhārat.

One fact is emphatic. The Sarasvatī hieroglyphs as well as the symbols on punch-marked coins are the product of metal-workshops or mints. The glyphs used on both the Sarasvatī epigraphs and punch-marked coins should, thus, relate to the property and tools-of-trade of metal-workers.

The code of the hieroglyphs is that the glyphs represent, rebus, the minerals, metals and furnaces used by metal-workers.

The code has been cracked, not only for the Sarasvatī hieroglyphs but also the devices or symbols used on punch-marked coins.

Imperial Punch-Marked Coins


Imperial, 1st Series
Imperial, 1st Series
Imperial, 4th Series

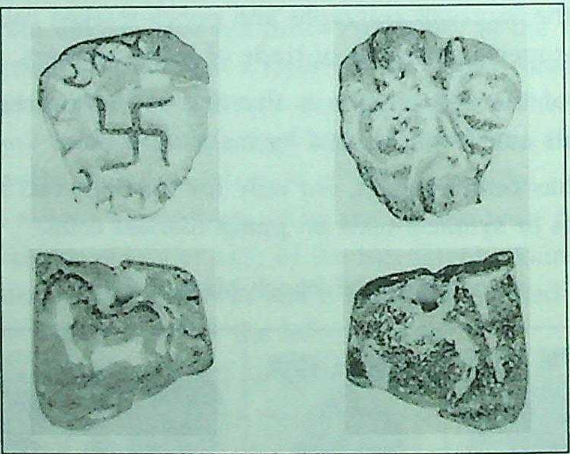
Asmaka janapada | Imperial series | Imperial series

Taxila *Janapada*; 600-303 BCE Silver, *Satamāna* Bent bar; two septa-radiate marks at ends, Uniface; Weight: 11.3 gm (100 *rattī*)

These were silver concave bars of 11 gms which are popularly called as "Taxila bent bars" or "*Satamāna* bent bars". *Satamāna* or *Śatamāna* represented 100 *rattī*s of silver in weight (*Śata* means 100 while *māna* means unit). These silver bars were punched with two septa-radiate (seven arms) symbols, one at each end. (http://www.med.unc.edu/~nupam/ancient1.html)

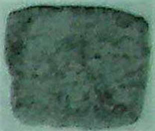
Punch-Marked Coin, Silver Bentbar

The Sātavāhanas were the early rulers of the region between the rivers Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. They were also referred to as the Āndhras. They soon brought under their control, both the Western-Deccan and Central India. The dates of their coming to power are contentious and are variously put between 270 BCE to 30 BCE. Their coins were predominantly of copper and lead, however, silver issues are also known. These coins carried the motifs of fauna like elephants, lions, bulls, horses, etc., often juxtaposed against motifs from nature like hills, tree, etc. The silver coins of the Sātavāhanas carried portraits and bilingual legends, which were inspired by the Kṣatrapa types.

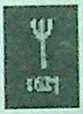

Coins of the Sātavāhana

South Indian Coinage

The symbols and motifs on south Indian coin issues were confined to dynastic crests such as the boar (Cāḷukya), bull (Pallava), tiger (Coḷa), fish (Pāṇḍya and Alupas), bow and arrow (Cheras) and lion (Hoysala), etc. The Yādavas of Devagiri issued *padmaṭaṅkas* with an eight-petalled lotus on the obverse and a blank reverse. Coin legends refer to names or titles of the issuer in local scripts and languages. Decorative features are rare and divinities are almost absent till the medieval Vijayanagara period (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries CE).

Description	Obverse	Reverse
Coins of the Cheras eleventh-thirteenth centuries		

Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in fourth-fifth century BCE mentions *satamāna, niṣkas, sana, vimastika, karṣāpana* and its various sub-divisions as coins.



kolimi = furnace (Te.); ***kolme*** (Ka.); rebus: ***kolmo*** = rice plant (Santali).

Coin discovered at Takṣa Śilā: Taxila Janapada fifth century BCE; silver, 1/8th *kārṣapana*.

Septa-radiate single punch Mark, Uniface

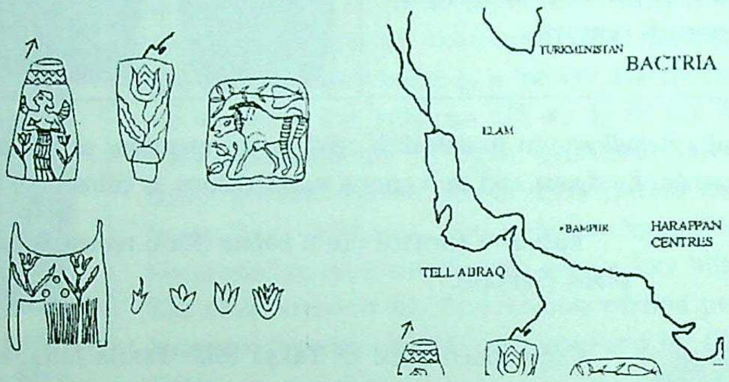
Weight: 1.4 gm (4 *rattī*) MAC#4079

Tell Abraq comb (TA 1649; 11 X 8.2 X 0.4 cm); decorated bone comb in a context datable to *ca.* 2100-2000 BCE at Tell Abraq, emirate of Umm al-Qaiwain, United Arab Emirates, on the southern coast of the Arabian Gulf (Fig. 2a and b in: D.T. Potts, 1993, A new Bactrian find, from south eastern Arabia, *Antiquity* 67 (1993): 591-96). Two logographs used are: dotted circles (3) and two flowers, long-stemmed, with lanceolate-linear leaves with undulate margins (like Tulipa montana, Lindl. or mountain tulip). The flower motif occurs on a Bactrian flask (picture below).

A soft-stone flask, 6 cm. tall, from Bactria (northern Afghanistan) showing a winged female deity (?) flanked by two flowers similar to those shown on the comb from Tell Abraq (After Pottier, M.H., 1984, *Materiel funeraire e la Bactriane meridionale de l'Age du Bronze*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations: plate 20.150).

Location of Tell Abraq, Southern Coast of Arabian Gulf

It will be established through the use of lexemes from the Indian linguistic area that the motifs: (1) dotted circles which recur on ivory combs; and (2) the flower — "three-leaf motif" (which looks like a mountain tulip) — both motifs are related to the cosmetic substances used by women to beautify their hair and bodies (unguents for hair and body). The "dotted circles" motif also occurs in metallurgical contexts. The "three-leaf motif" also occurs in metallurgical contexts (see the inscription of the single sign resembling this motif on the Cretan copper ingot — illustrated). The homonyms which relate to cosmetics also represent lexemes related to metallurgy.



Ivory comb with Mountain Tulip motif and dotted circles. TA 1649 Tell Abraq.

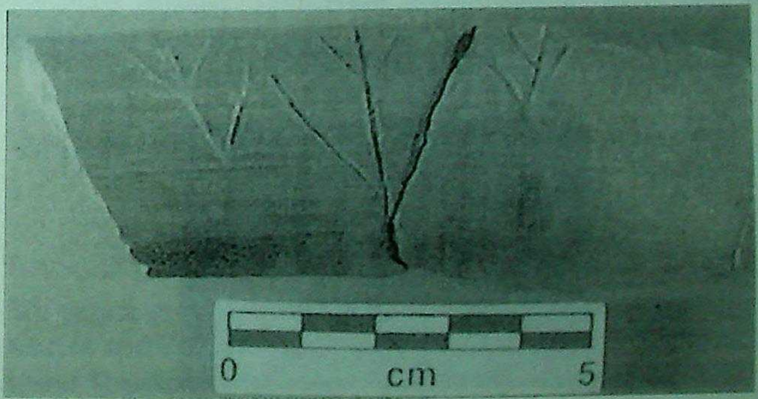
[D.T. Potts, South and Central Asian elements at Tell Abraq (Emirate of Umm al-Qaiwain, United Arab Emirates), *c.* 2200 BCE – CE 400, in Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio, *South Asian Archaeology 1993:*, pp. 615-666.]

Tell Abraq is an Arabian peninsula site which used Harappan weights *circa* 2200 BCE.

Wild tulip motif. A motif that occurs on south-east Iranian cylinder seals and on Persian Gulf seals. 1st *row*: Bactrian artefacts; 2nd *row*: a comb from the Gulf area and late trans-Elamite seals [After Marie-Helene Pottier, 1984, *Materiel funeraire de la Bactriane meridionale de l'age du bronze,* Recherche sur les Civilizations, Memoire 36, Paris, fig. 21; Sarianidi, V.I., 1986, Le complexe culturel de Togolok 21 en Margiane, *Arts Asiatiques 41*: fig. 6,21; Potts, 1994, fig. 53,8; Amiet, 1986, fig. 132]. The ivory comb found at Tell Abraq measures 11 X 8.2 X 0.4 cm. Both sides of the comb bear identical, incised decoration in the form of two long-stemmed flowers with crenate or dentate leaves, flanking three dotted circles arranged in a triangular pattern. Bone and ivory combs with dotted-circle decoration are well-known in the Harappan area (e.g., at Chanhu-Dāro and Mohenjo-Dāro), but none of the Harappan combs bear the distinctive floral motif of the Tell Abraq comb. These flowers are identified as tulips, perhaps Mountain tulip or Boeatian tulip (both of which grow in Afghanistan) which have an undulate leaf. There is a possibility that the comb is an import from Bactria, perhaps transmitted through Meluhha to the Oman Peninsula site of Tell Abraq.

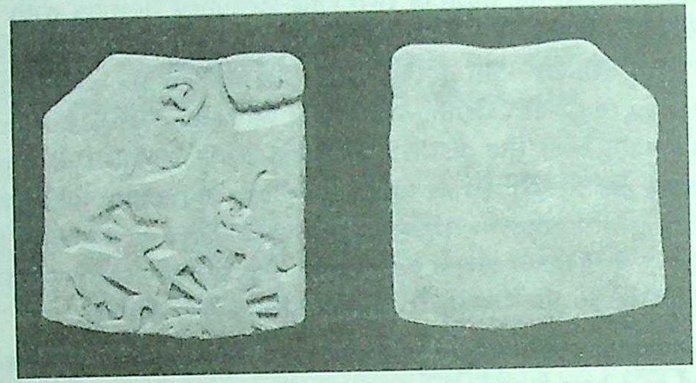
[The homonym, ***takarai***, or ***tagaraka*** is a five-petalled *tabernae-montana* flower used as a hair-fragrance.] *tagar* = a flowering shrub; a plant in bloom (G.lex.) *tagara* = the shrub tabernaemontana coronaria, and a fragrant powder or perfume obtained from it, incense (Vin 1.203); *tagarāmallikā* two kinds of *gandhā* (P.lex.) *ṭagara* (*tagara*) a spec. plant; fragrant wood (Pkt.lex.) *tagara* = a kind of flowering tree (Te.lex.).

Seal impression from Harappā (Kenoyer, 1998); a woman is carrying a three-petalled flower (interpreted as ***tagaraka***, used as an aromatic unguent for the hair; see the emphasis on the hair-do, with two buns of hair). *takaram* means "tin" (Tamil).



Slide 124 Inscribed Ravi sherd (1998 find at Harappā: Kenoyer and Meadow); the sherd contains the same sign (*ca*. 3300 BCE). The sign on this

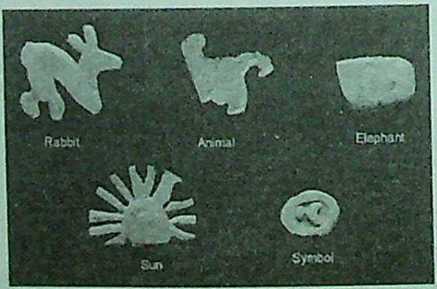
potsherd (with five petals as in Taberna Montana) is stylized as Sign 162 (with three prongs) and Sign 165 (with five petals). Sign 167 shows five petals (and variants show many more branches). The sign also is ligatured to form other signs. (http://www.med.unc.edu/~nupam/ancient1.html)



A punch-marked coin of Mauryan Bhārat

Hare = ***kulai*** (Santali) Rebus: ***kol*** "metal of 5 alloys, *pañcaloha*" (Ta.).

In the early years of its development in India, coinage took a different path than it had in the Mediterranean world. From the sixth to the second century BCE much of the money issued by Indian rulers was not in the form of round disks struck on each side with the badges and titles of the issuing authority. Instead, the currency of India was made up of bars and small square plates of precious metal punched with a variety of symbols. These punch-marks, which often appear on only one side of the coins may have been applied by government officials, merchants or bankers. Sometimes they can also be found on the coins of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings where they seem to represent cities or trade organizations.

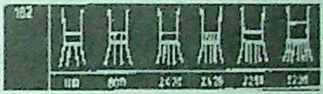


aṁśa = rays of the sun; homonym: ***ās*** = scales of fish; rebus: ***ayas*** = metal (*Ṛgveda*).

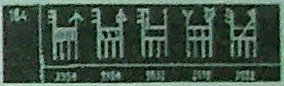
At least five separate punches were used to mark this particular coin. Animal symbols are prominent in the iconography chosen by the die engravers. The image of what appears to be a rabbit is easily recognizable in the lower left corner and an unidentifiable zoomorphic figure can be found on the right.

A rectangular shape in the upper right corner is all that remains of a punch in the shape of an elephant, the mighty beast of war much utilized by Indian rulers and prized by Hellenistic kings. If one takes a close look at the bottom of this punch-mark it is still possible to make out the stump-like legs of the great beast.

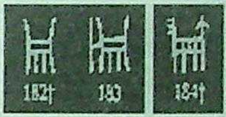
In addition to animal emblems, a punch depicting a symbol of uncertain meaning was used along with one bearing the image of the sun. The sun punch was especially common on the coins of India and can be found on some of the earliest punch-marked pieces. It was also the special emblem of the Mauryan empire. (http://www.seleukids.org/OHG6.htm)



V182



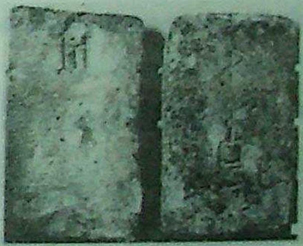
V184



Signs 182, 183, 184 The sign 182 is used on a copper- plate epigraph and substitutes for an "antelope" glyph.

Two Tin Ingots with Sarasvatī Epigraphs

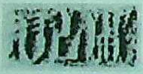
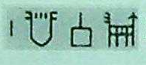
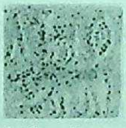
Two other rosetta stones are the two late bronze age tin ingots from the harbor of Haifa, Israel and contain glyphs used in epigraphs of Sarasvatī civilization!



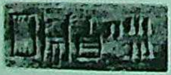
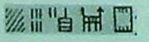
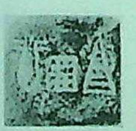
The picture of these two ingots was published by J.D. Muhly [New evidence for sources of and trade in bronze age tin, in Alan D. Franklin, Jacqueline S. Olin, and Theodore A. Wertime, *The Search for Ancient Tin*, 1977, Seminar organized by Theodore A. Wertime and held at the Smithsonian Institution and the National Bureau of Standards, Washington, D.C., March 14-15, 1977. Muhly notes:

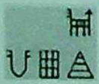
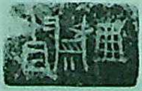
> A long-distance tin trade is not only feasible and possible, it was an absolute necessity. Sources of tin stone or cassiterite were few and far between, and a common source must have served many widely scattered metallurgical centres. This means that the tin would have been brought to a metallurgical center utilizing a nearby source of copper. That is, copper is likely to be a local product; the tin was almost always an import. . . The circumstances surrounding the discovery of these ingots are still rather confused, and our dating is based entirely upon the presence of engrave signs which seem to be in the Cypro-Minoan script, used in Cyprus and at Ugarit over the period 1500-1100 BCE. The ingots are made of a very pure tin, but what could they have to do with Cyprus? There is certainly no tin in Cyprus, so at best the ingots could have been transhipped from that island. How did they then find their way to Haifa? Are we dealing with a ship en route from Cyprus, perhaps to Egypt, which ran into trouble and sank off the coast of Haifa? If so, that certainly rules out Egypt as a source of tin. Ingots of tin are rare before Roman times and, in the eastern Mediterranean, unknown from any period. What the ingots do demonstrate is that metallic tin was in use during the Late Bronze Age . . . rather extensive use of metallic tin in the ancient eastern Mediterranean, which will probably come as a surprise to many people. — Muhly, J.D., 1976, *Copper and Tin*, Hamden, Archon Books, p.47

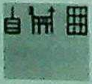
We will demonstrate that the symbols incised on the ingots are not Cypro-Minoan symbols but Harappan pictographs.


m-1336a

2515 (Mahadevan)

m-1097

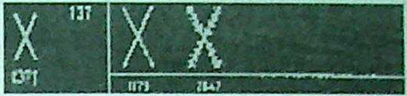
On this seal, the antelope appears in the middle of the inscription; it is apparently this pictograph that gets normalised as a "sign", Sign 184 and variants.


m1341

2092

m0516At

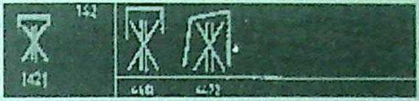
m0516Bt

3398

m0522At

m0522Bt

3378

The sign pictographs are:

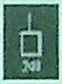


Sign 137 and variants

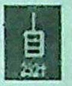


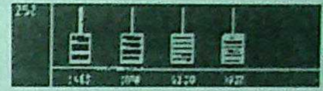
Sign 142 and variants

kulhi "the village street" (Santali) Rebus: *kol* metal (Ta.).



Sign 249

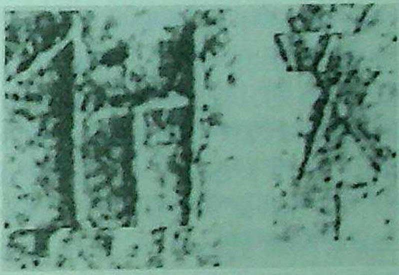




Sign 252 and variants

This pictograph clearly refers to an antelope as depicted on the Mohenjo-Dāro copper-plate inscription: (m-516b shown).

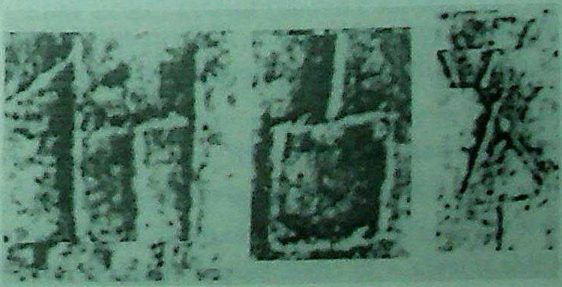
Sign 182 is a stylized glyph denoting a ram or antelope: ***tagar*** (Skt.); rebus: ***takaram*** "tin" (Ta.).



On each ingot, there are two signs as shown below:

[Let us refer to these signs as, "antelope" and X]

[Let us refer to these signs as, X and "mould" or "liquid measure."]



Liquid measure: ***raṅku***; rebus: *raṅku* = tin; rebus: ***raṅku*** = antelope. Thus both liquid measure glyph and antelope glyphs are graphonyms (graphically denoting the same rebus substantive: *raṅku*, "tin".

X glyph which is common to epigraphs on both the tin ingots may refer to an "ingot" or a ***dhātu*** "mineral". ***upadhātu*** an inferior metal, a semi-metal: *svarṇam mākṣikam tāramākṣikam tustham kāsyam rati sindūram śilājatu* (Skt.)(Skt.lex.) ***siddha-rasa*** quick-silver (Ka.lex.) ***siddha-dhātu*** quick-silver (Skt.); ore (as gold) (Ka.lex.) ***cittam kiṭṭa*** iron dross (Ta.lex.) ***siddha-patra*** hemp-leaves for smoking, etc. (Ka.lex.) ***dhātu*** strength, courage (Ka.); ***dhātūgeḍu*** strength to be impaired or be gone; to become deprived of strength or courage (Ka.); ***dhātunaṣṭa*** loss of strength (Ka.)(Ka.lex.) The semant. "strength" points to the *dhātu* being tin since the addition of tin as an alloy strengthened copper. ***sapta-dhātu, tridhātu*** "seven/three elements" are recurrently occurring compound lexemes in *Ṛgveda*.

In *ṚV* 6.044.23 the term used is: ***tridhātu divi rocaneṣu*** = "three-fold *amṛtam* hidden in heaven" is the metaphor; and in *ṚV* 8.044.12 the term is: ***tridhātunāśarmaṇā***.

6.044.23 This Soma made the dawns happily wedded to the sun; this Soma placed the light within the solar orb; this (Soma) has found the threefold ambrosia hidden in heaven in the three bright regions. [***ayam tridhātu divi rocaneṣu, triteṣu, triteṣu vindat amṛtam nigūḷham*** = Soma becomes as it were ambrosia when received or concealed in the vessels at the three diurnal ceremonies, which ambrosia is properly deposited with the gods abiding in the third bright sphere, or in heaven].

8.040.12 Thus has a new hymn been addressed to Indra and Agni, as was done by my father, by Māndhātā, by Aṅgirasa; cherish us with a triply defended dwelling; may we be the lords of riches. [Triply defended dwelling: *tridhātunā śarmaṇā* = *triparvaṇā gṛheṇa*, with a house of three joints; in *ṚV*, 1.34.6, *tridhātu śarma* = *vātapitta śleṣma dhātutrayaśamana viṣayam sukham*; in *ṚV* 1.85.12 *śarma tridhātūni* = *pṛthivyādiṣu triṣu sthāneṣu avasthitāni sukhāni gṛhāni vā*; Note: it is possible that the term may simply mean, three elements, copper, silver, gold.]

Rebus (for the glyptic of crossing over):

dā̃ṭu = cross over; *dā̊ṭ-* (*dā̊ṭṭ*) to cross (Kol.); *dāṭisu* — to cause to pass over (Ka.); *dā̊ṭ-* (*dā̊ṭy-*) to cross (mark, stream, mountain, road)(Ko.); *tāṭṭuka* to get over or through (Ma.); *tāṇṭu* = to cross, surpass (Ta.)(DEDR 3158).

Rebus: ***tāṭu*** = to strike against, come in contact with (Ka.); *tāḍuni* = to gore, butt; *tāḍu* = goring (Tu.); *hāṇṭu* to collide (Tu.); *tāṇṭi* = to hit (Kor.)(DEDR 3156).

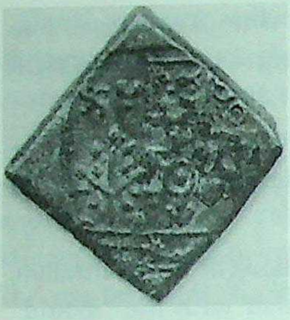
tātu = powder, dust, pollen (Ta.); ***to.0*** = powdery, soft (of flour or powdered chillies). There is a possibility that the early semant. of *dhātu* was cassiterite, powdery tin mineral.

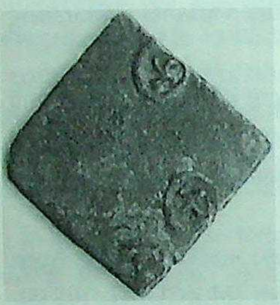
The three signs used have parallels in the inscriptions of the civilization; in m-1336 the "antelope" pictograph appears together with the "mould" pictograph; X sign occurs on many inscriptions with many variants elaborating it as a junction of four roads:

The Sign 249 which is shown on the second tin ingot of Haifa, Israel is a representation of an ingot, assuming that this shows an ingot is shaped like the one taken out of a mould. The X sign (with a ligatured perpendicular short linear stroke) is common on both the tin ingots.

raṅku a species of deer; *raṅkuka* (Skt.)(CDIAL 10559). *rāṅkava* made from the hair of the *raṅku* deer (Ka.lex.) *rā̃kaṭ* big and boorish (M.)(CDIAL 10538). cf. *raṅka* slow, dull (Skt.) (CDIAL 10538). cf. *rōhi* a kind of deer (R.)(CDIAL 10870). *rauhiṣa, rōhiṣa* a kind of deer (Ka.lex.) ***raṅku*** "antelope" (Santali) ***raṅku*** = a species of deer (Skt.); *raṅkuka* id. (Skt.)(CDIAL 10559). *rāṅkava* belonging to the *raṅku* deer (*Mbh.*); made from the hair of the *raṅku* deer, woollen (R.); coming from *raṅku* (said of animals) (Pāṇ 4.2.100); a woollen cover or blanket (*Mbh.*R.); *rāṅkava kūṭa śāyin* lying on a heap of woollen rags (*Mbh.*); *rāṅkavajina* a woollen skin; *rāṅkavastaraṇa* a woollen coverlet (R.); *rāṅkavastṛta* covered with a woollen rug (Skt.); *rāṅkavaka* coming from *raṅkiu* (said of men) (Pāṇ 4.2.134); *rāṅkavāyaṇa* coming from *raṅku* (said of animals) (Pāṇ 4.2.100). *raṅku* a species of deer or antelope (Skt.lex.) *raṅku* = a species of deer or antelope, the spotted axis (mare)(Ka.lex.).

kurunga = a kind of antelope; *kurunga miga* = the antelope deer (Pali); *kulunga, kulanga* (Skt.)(Pali.lex.) *kulaṅga* (MaitrS.); *kuluṅga* (TS); *kuraṅga, kuruṅga* (Pkt.); *kuraṃga* (Pali); *kuraṅg* (P.); *karaṃgī* (OG.); *kurā̃g* (G.); *kurunga* (Si.); *kurangu* the elk Rusa aristotelis (Si.)(CDIAL 3320). cf. *kuraṅg* light chestnut colour (Kho.)(CDIAL 3321). ***kuraṅga*** = a species of antelope, antelope or deer (in general); *kuluṅga* = an antelope (VS 24; TS 5); *kuraṅgaka, kulaṅga* = antelope; *kuraṅgama* = an antelope; ***kuraṅgāyate*** to take the shape of an antelope (Skt.lex.) ***kurahu*** antelope (Kuwi), *kuraṅga* (Ka.) *kulanga, kulunga* = going in a herd, antelope (VS.); *kulmi* = a herd (*TS*. ii.4.5.2)





AE Half *kārṣapaṇa* (?)

Mitchiner ACW 4620v.

19 × 21 mm.

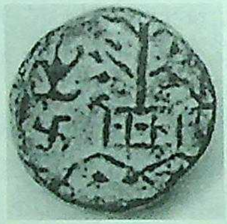
6.20 gm.

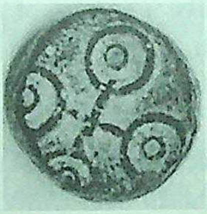
Die position=n/a

reverse

Obverse: 6-armed symbol, railed tree to left, standard to right; rectangle containing frogs and fish above, taurine (?) symbols below, other symbols.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol (4-armed "swirls" within annulets).





AE Quarter Kārṣapaṇa (?)

Mitchiner ACW 4622v.

14 x 13 mm.

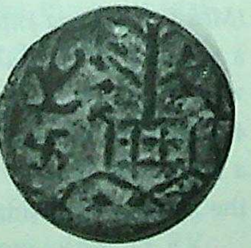
3.35 gm.

Die position=n/a

reverse

Obverse: Railed tree to right, "plant" and *svastika* to left; mountains (?) below.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol (annulets within annulets).



AE *māṣā* (*circa* 150-75 BCE)

Mitchiner ACW 4628

14 x 13 mm.

1.86 gm.

Die position=n/a

reverse

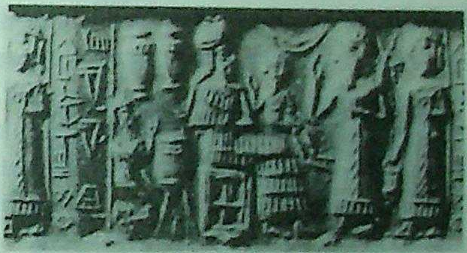
Obverse: *Svastika* with bull head ends.

Reverse: 6-armed and other symbols.

(http://www.grifterrec.com/coins/india/ancientindia2.html)

Mleccha, Mlecchita Vikalpa

The Meluhhan being introduced carries an antelope on his arm — a semantic and phonetic determinant. Cylinder seal impression. Akkadian. third millennium BCE. Sumerian tibira, tabira (Akkadian. LU2 URUDU-NAGAR =. "[person] copper-carpenter"); a word indicating borrowing from a substrate. In Pkt. *tambira* = copper. The substrate language was Meluhhan! *mḷekh* = goat (Brahui); *mṟeka, mēka* (Telugu); rebus: *mleccha* "copper" (Skt.); *melakku* "copper" (Pali)].



Ṛgveda is eloquent about two traditions: *yajña* and *vrata*. Viśvakarmā traditions of Bhārat extolled in Vedic times continue into the Sarasvatī civilization and into the historical periods of Bhāratīya culture. These traditions are exemplified by (1) the use of *pañcaloha* (alloy of five metals) for casting bronze *mūrti*; (2) the *śaṅkha* (*turbinella pyrum*) industry which is vibrant even today in Gulf of Khambat and Gulf of Mannar; (3) the building of Puṣkariṇīs in *mandira*; and (4) the Āgama tradition of worshipping Maheśvara as *śiva-liṅga*. It is not mere coincidence that *śiva-liṅga* were found *in situ* in Harappā and terracotta images were also recovered in Kalibaṅgan, a site on the banks of River Sarasvatī. *Śiva-liṅga* is shaped after the summit of Mt. Kailās where the metaphor presents Śiva sitting in penance, *kamaḍha*.

Mleccha is a dialect spoken in conversation between Vidura and Yudhiṣṭhira as reported in the Great Epic, *Mahābhārata*. *Mleccha* are *vrātya*; they live in *dvīpa* (islands). *Mleccha* are not "foreigners," but those who do not fully adhere to the practices of *yajña*. *Vrātya* are referred to in over 240 *ṛcās* in the *Ṛgveda*. *Atharvaveda* notes that both *vrātya* and *yājñika* are children of Prajāpati. *Vrātya* are *rājanya*. They are ascetics and also given to organizing themselves with arms to defend themselves. Thus, the picture that emerges from *Ṛgveda* is that of people practising both *vrata* and *yajña*. In fact, the *yajña* itself begins with a *mahāvrata* as described in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. Monuments: *mukhabāhu rupajjānām yā loke jātayo bahih mlecchavācas 'cāryavācas te sarve dasyuh smṛtāh*. This verse indicates two dialects: ārya speech, mleccha speech and both are spoken by dasyu.

Mlecchita vikalpa is referred to by Vātsyāyana as one of the 64 arts. It is interpreted as cipher writing or writing in pictures.

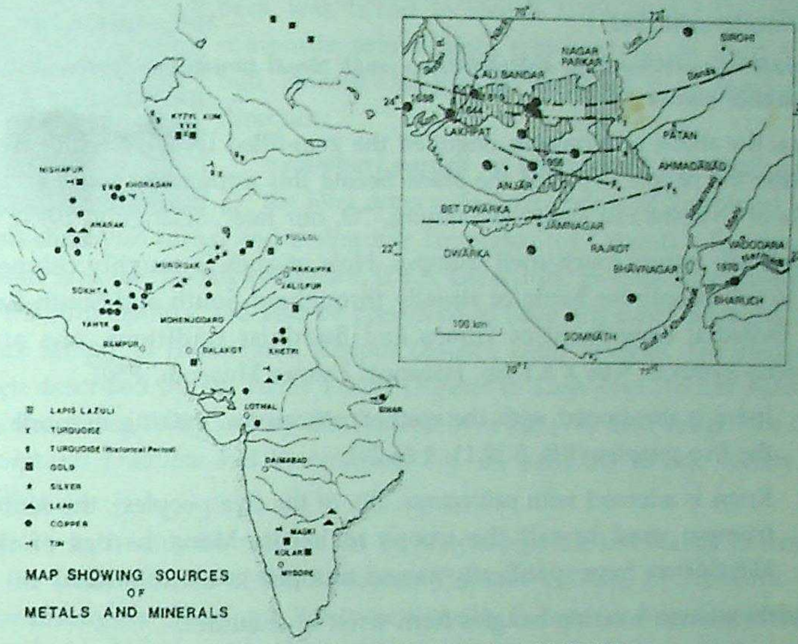
Mleccha is a form cognate with Meluhha. There is a cylinder seal found in Mesopotamia which depicts a Meluhha (carrying an antelope) together with an interpreter. This glyptic message shows that Meluhha was a language which was different from Akkadian or Sumerian. There are cuneiform texts which refer to trade transactions with Meluhha. The trade was in a variety of commodities including copper and tin. It is no mere coincidence that *mleccha* and *mlecchamukha* are terms in Sanskrit which mean "copper". In Pali, a term for copper is *milakkhu*. Clearly, the copper being referred to was obtained from Khetri mines in Rajasthan. Kalyanaraman argues that *soma* in *Ṛgveda* connoted electrum (gold-silver compound, like the metal obtained from Kolar goldmines). [S. Kalyanaraman, 2004, Indian Alchemy: Soma in the Veda, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal]

There is archaeological evidence to show that the system of weights used in Meluhha (Sarasvatī Civilization) was used in the Persian Gulf countries (Dilmun and Magan). There are also indications that Meluhhan merchants had settled in Mesopotamia. These merchants were seafaring merchants from Sarasvatī-Sindhu River Basins.

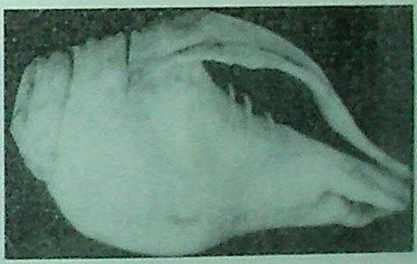
Sources of Minerals and Maritime Roots

The finds by National Institute of Ocean Technology (February 2002) of the submerged extensions of palaeo-channels of rivers Narmadā and Tapatī in the Gulf of Khambat and the cultural complex of habitation found on the banks of these channels are significant pointers to the importance of Bhṛgukṣetra (Bharuch) in the Ṛgvedic times. The submergence of Dwārakā is attested in the Mausala/Parva of *Mahābhārata*.

Earthquakes occur in Kutch and Saurāṣṭra, with E-W trending faults. Bet Dwārakā and Dholavīra are close to these faults. [After Biswas, 1987; Rajendran and Rajendran, 2000].


KYZYL KUM
NISHAPUR
KHORASAN
ANARAK
MUNDIGAK
SOKHTA
YAHYA
BAMPUR
MOHENJODARO
BALAKOT
HARAPPA
JALILPUR
KHETRI
LOTHAL
BIHAR
DAIMABAD
MASKI
KOLAR
MYSORE
LAPIS LAZULI
TURQUOISE
TURQUOISE (Historical Period)
GOLD
SILVER
LEAD
COPPER
TIN
NAGAR PARKAR
ALI BANDAR
LAKHPAT
PATAN
SIROHI
ANJAR
AHMADABAD
BET DWARKA
JAMNAGAR
RAJKOT
DWARKA
BHAVNAGAR
VADODARA
BHARUCH
SOMNATH
100 km

MAP SHOWING SOURCES
OF
METALS AND MINERALS



After Kṛṣṇas soul departs the mortal body —

vivṛddhamūṣikā rathyā vibhinnamaṇikāstathā keśā nakhāśca suptānāmadyante mūṣikairniśi । — *Mbh.*, Mausala, 2.5

cīcīkūcīti vāśanti sārikā vṛṣṇiveśmasu nopaśāmyati śabdaśca sa divārātrameva hi । — *Mbh.*, Mausala, 2.6

anvakurvannulūkānām sārasā virutam tathā ajāh śivānām virutamanvakurvata bhārata । — *Mbh.*, Mausala, 2.7

Streets swarmed with rats and mice, earthen pots showed cracks or were broken from no apparent cause, *sārikās* chirped ceaselessly day and night, *sāras* hooted like owls, goats cried like jackals, pigeons departed from their homes, and asses brayed aloud in disconsonant and awful voices (Ganguly, 1998).

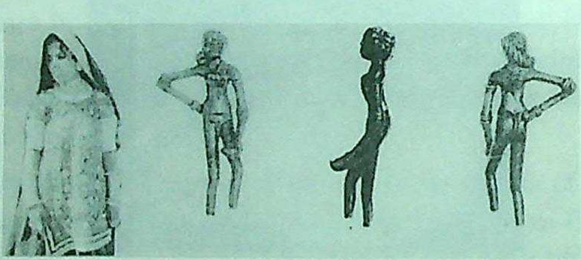
> ***niryāte tu jane tasmin sāgaro makarālayah drārakām ratnasampūrṇām jalenāplāvayat tadā* ।** — *Mbh.*, Mausala, 7.41
>
> ***tadadbhutamabhiprekṣya dvārakāvāsino janāh tūrṇāt tūrṇataram jagmuraho daivakiti bruvan* ।** — *Mbh.*, Mausala, 7.43

The sea, the abode of monsters, engulfed the gem-filled Dvārakā with waves soon after the people departed the place. Seeing this astounding incident, the citizens of Dvārakā ran away, exclaiming, "O, our fate". (Ganguly, 1998).

Turbinella pyrum conch-shell trumpet. Hole at apex is roughly chipped. Used to call people for battle or ritually throughout South and South-East Asia. Essential component of Hindu and Buddhist traditions, one of 8 auspicious symbols. 9.66 X 5.1 cm. Harappā; Lahore Museum, P501.

- Indra is mentioned with the epithet, *pāñcajanya*, making him one of the five peoples (*Ṛ V*, 5.32.11; 9.66.20).
- Kṛṣṇa is adorned with *pāñcajanya* (lit. of the five peoples), the *śaṅkha* trumpet used to call the troops to battle. Many heroes of the *Mahābhārata* have specifically-named trumpets made of *śaṅkha*.

Kutchi woman wearing bangles from wrist to shoulder.

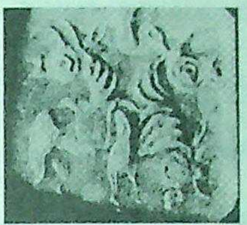


Bronze statue (made using *cire perdue* technique). Mohenjo-Dāro. Wearing bangles from wrist to shoulder.

Pārvatī, wore conch-shell bangles — ***śaṅkhaka*** — created by Sage Agastya Muni and Divine architect Viśvakarmā. *Śaṅkha* is a Kubera's treasure — one of the nine or nava-nidhis.

A dramatic archaeological affirmation comes from Nausharo, 300 km north of Makran coast (Karachi) related to *śaṅkha* (*turbinella pyrum*) tradition which continues into the historical periods.

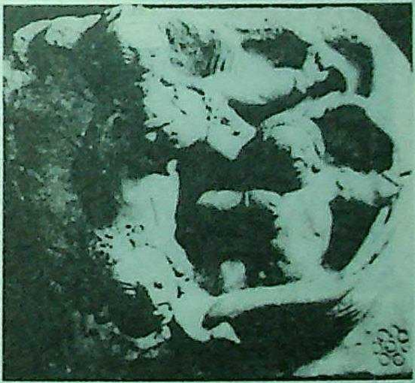
This is a *śaṅkha* seal discovered at Bet Dwārakā (S.R. Rao) and kept in the museum of National Institute of Oceanography, Panjim, Goa. A small rectangular seal (20 x 18 mm) of conch-shell with a perforated button at the



back was found in trench UW6 of Bet Dwārakā. A composite animal motif representing the short horned bull, unicorn and goat are engraved in an anticlockwise direction.

valampuri poṟitta mī tāṅku taṭak kai (Mullaippāṭṭu: 2) "the long arms with finger prints of Valampurī [conch with clockwise turns] and embracing Tirumakaḷ (or Lakṣmī)." The terracotta plaque is at the Brooklyn Museum, U.S.A. On stylistic grounds it can be ascribed to the fifth century and also be presumed to have originally belonged to the brick temple of Bhitargaon, Kanpur District, Uttar Pradesh. The plaque has been described by Dr. Army Poster (*Figures in Clays from Ancient India*, No. 52, Brooklyn, 1973) and by Dr. Pratapaditya Pal (*The Ideal Image: The Gupta Sculptural Tradition and Its Influence*, Fig. 28, p.81, the Asiatic Society, Inc. 1978).

Viṣṇu's fight with the *rākṣasas* led by Mālyavān, Māli and Sumāli as narrated in the Uttara-Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Cantoes VI-VIII). [*A Terracotta Panel from Bhitargaon Showing a Rāmāyaṇa Scene* by P. Banerjee http://ignca.nic.in/pb0020.htm]



he is ***śaṅkha kṛśāna*** mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*: and interpreted as pearl-shell worn from the ocean and worn as an amulet in the *Atharva-veda* (*AV* 4.10.1)

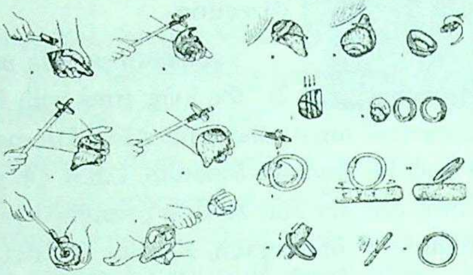
याभिः कृशानुम् असने दुवस्यथो जवे याभिर् यूनो अर्वन्तम् आवतम् ।
मधु प्रियम् भरथो यत् सरड्भ्यस् ताभिर् ऊ षु ऊतिभिर् अश्विना गतम् ॥

— *Ṛ V* 1.112.21

With those aids by which you defended Kṛśānu in battle, with which you succoured the horse of the young Purukutsa in speed, and by which you deliver the pleasant honey to the bees; with them, Aśvins, come willingly hither. [Kṛśānu are Somapālas, vendors or providers of Soma; *hastāsuhastākṛśānavaḥ, te vah somakrayaṇah* (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 1.2.7); *kṛśānu* = agni;

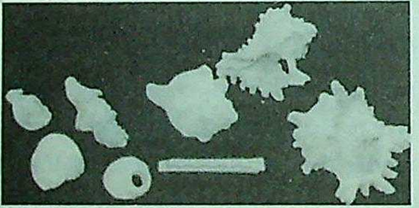
Purukutsa was the son of Māndhātā and husband of Narmadā, the river; the text has only "of the young", [Purukutsa is added].

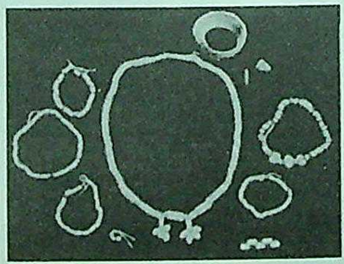
A skilled sawer and shells ready for sawing,



Turbinella pyrum shell bangle manufacturing process [*a* to *f*]: preliminary chipping and removal of internal columella; [*g* to *k*]: sawing shell circlets; [*l* to *n*]: finishing the shell blank; [*o*]: final incising [After Fig. 5.23 in Kenoyer, 1998].

Burial ornaments made of shell and stone disc beads, and ***turbinella pyrum*** (sacred conch, ***śaṅkha***) bangle, Tomb MR3T.21, Mehrgarh, Period 1A, *ca.* 6500 BCE. The nearest source for this shell is Makran coast near Karachi, 500 km South. [After Fig. 2.10 in Kenoyer, 1998].



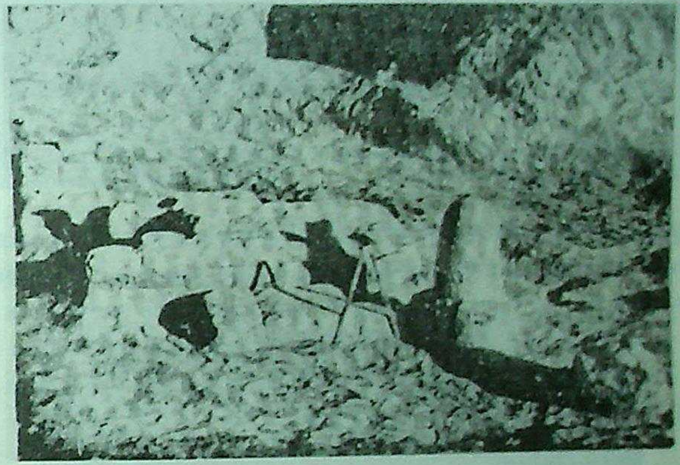


From Gulf of Kutch and Saurāṣṭra: Spiney murex, chicoreus ramosus (a), knobbed whelk, fasciolaria trapezium (b), and sawn fragments of the sacred conch (*śaṅkha*), ***turbinella pyrum*** [After Fig. 5.21 in Kenoyer, 1998].

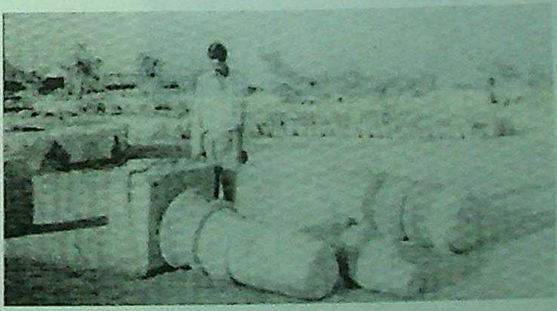
Sangatarāśu = stone cutter (S.)

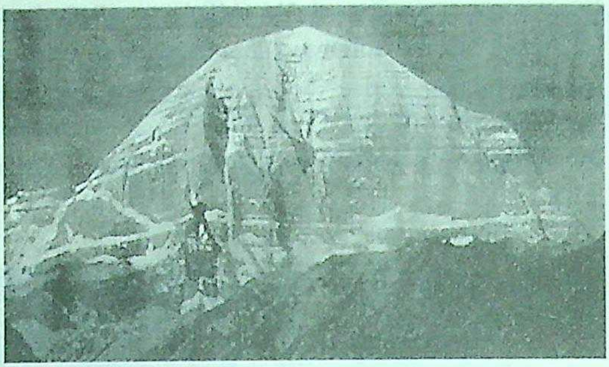
Archaeological evidence of rock-cut reservoir, polished stone pillars and polished ring-stones used as structural supports points to the use of metal tools to achieve these architectural components of stone, apart from the use of stones to build fortification at Dholavīra and Surkotada.

- Shape of *liṅgam* is like the shape of the summit of Mt. Kailās. Plate X [c] *liṅgam in situ* in Trench Ai (MS Vats, 1940, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Calcutta): "In the adjoining Trench Ai, 5 ft. 6 in. below the surface, was found a stone *liṅgam* [Since then I have found two stone *lingams* of a larger size from Trenches III and IV in this mound. Both of them are smoothed all over]. It measures 11 in high and 7 3/8 in diameter at the base and is rough all over." — Vol. I, pp. 51-52



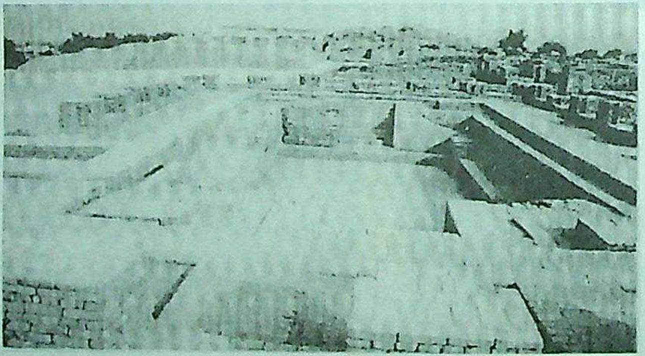
Dholavīra: Ringstone bases for wooden columns, found in several side verandas of citadel (ASI) Polished round stone pillars. Dholavīra.

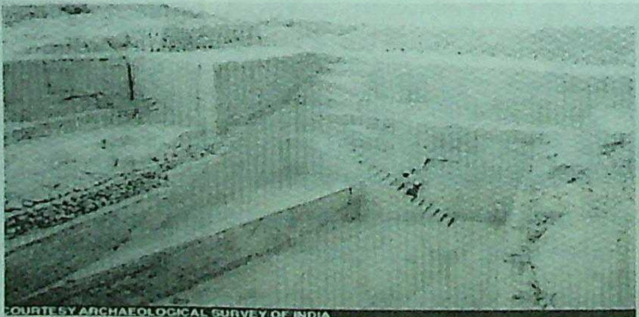


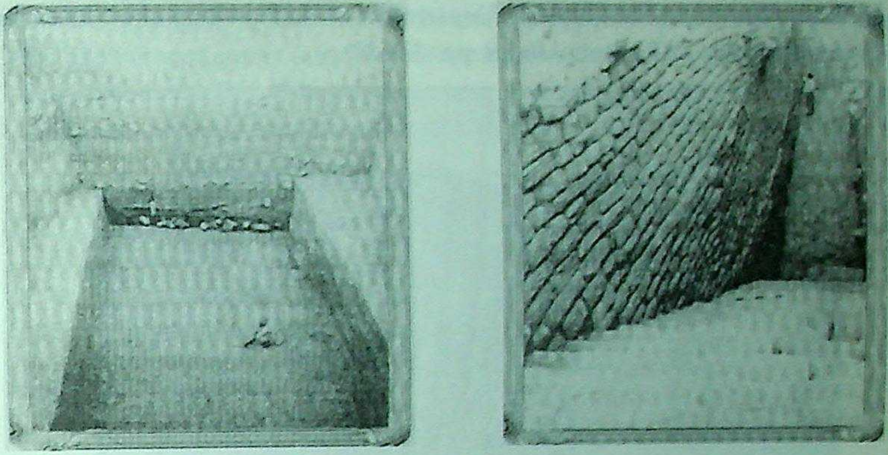


Limestone ringstones: discarded along a street in HR area, Mohenjo-Dāro (ASI)

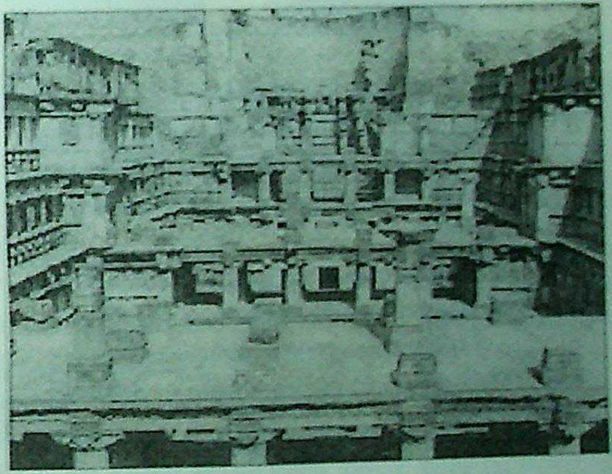
Seen together with the so-called bath (Puṣkar) at Mohenjo-Dāro, these architectural accomplishments are echoed in the step-wells of Gujarat and Rajasthan built during historical periods, embodying the sacredness attached to water — ***āpah*** — and the techniques for water management in a situation of water scarcity created by failures of monsoon and the desiccation of River Sarasvatī.





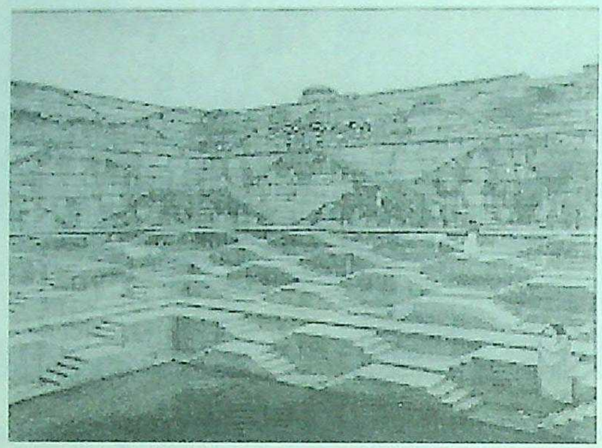


The largest rock-cut reservoir measures 263 feet by 39 feet and 24 feet in depth; reservoirs together held more than 325,000 cubic yards of water.

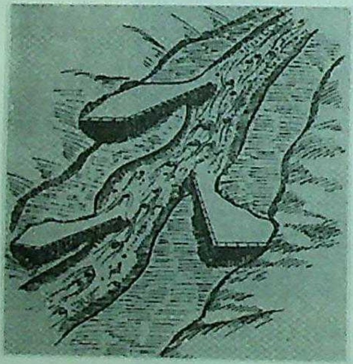


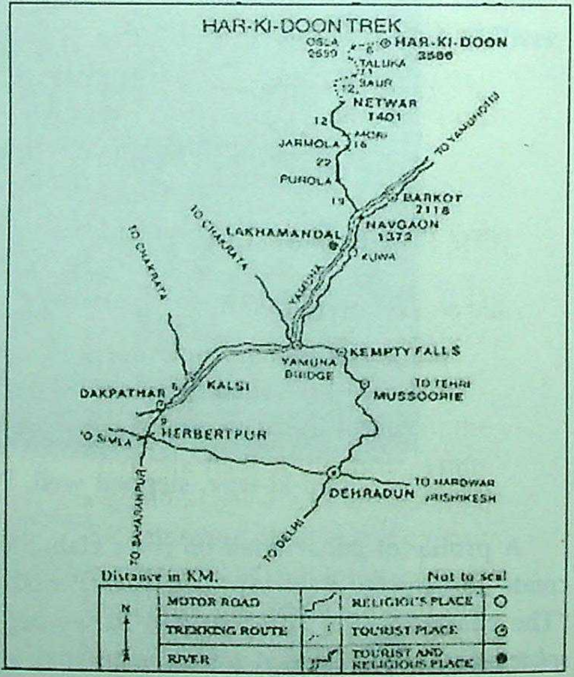
Rani-ki-wav, stepped well, Patan, Gujarat

A profile of ***gabar-band*** on river Hab, Sind, to store up river waters to create an irrigated field. At Mehergarh Period II (Burj Basket Market period): "The charred seeds of wheat and barley belonging to the species *triticum sphaerococcum and hordeum phaerococcum* that, according to L. Costantini, grow only on irrigated fields, also were collected from the ashy layers" of Period II (Jarrige, Jarrige, Meadow and Quivron, 1995, *Mehrgarh: Field Reports 1974-1985, from Neolithic times to the Indus Civilization*, Karachi, Department of Culture and Tourism of Sindh, Pakistan, Department of Archaeology and Museums, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp. 318-19).



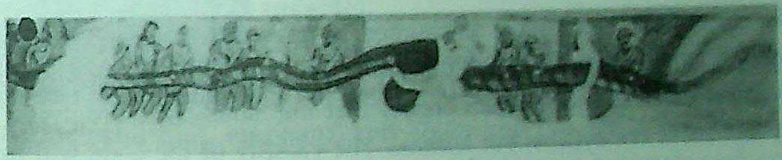
Nimrana step-well, Rajasthan




HAR-KI-DOON TREK
OSLA 2659
HAR-KI-DOON 3566
6
TALUKA
11
SAUR
12
NETWAR 1401
12
MORI
JARMOLA
16
22
PUROLA
19
TO YAMUNOTRI
BARKOT 2118
NAVGAON 1372
TO CHAKRATA
LAKHAMANDAL
KUWA
YAMUNA
TO CHAKRATA
KEMPTY FALLS
YAMUNA BRIDGE
KALSI
5
TO TEHRI
MUSSOORIE
DAKPATHAR
9
HERBERTPUR
TO SIMLA
TO SAHARANPUR
DEHRADUN
TO HARDWAR /RISHIKESH
TO DELHI
Distance in KM.
Not to scal
N
MOTOR ROAD
TREKKING ROUTE
RIVER
RELIGIOUS PLACE
TOURIST PLACE
TOURIST AND RELIGIOUS PLACE

Male head probably broken from a seated sculpture. Finely braided or wavy combed hair tied into a double bun on the back of the head and a plain fillet or headband with two hanging ribbons falling down the back (40).

The upper lip is shaved and a closely cropped and combed beard lines the pronounced lower jaw. The stylized almond-shaped eyes are framed by long eyebrows. The wide mouth is very similar to that on the "Priest-King" sculpture. Stylized ears are made of a double curve with a central knob.



Painting of *samudra manthanam*, in Ganesh Lena, Ellorā, *ca.* eleventh century CE. This is a glyph representing a co-operating society, what *Ṛgveda* calls ***samāna ūrve***: *vrātya and yājñika, dānava, and daitya* were children of Prajāpati and were co-operating to use the riches from the earth and the ocean depths.

> समान ऊर्वे अधि सृलतगतासः सं जानते न यतन्तेमिथस् ते।
> ते देवानां न मिनन्ति व्रतातान्य् अमर्धन्तो वसुभिर् यादमानाः ॥
>
> When the common herd (of cattle had been stolen) then, associating, they concurred, nor mutually contended; they obstructed not the sacrifices of the gods, but, unoffending, proceeded with the light (they had recovered) (*Ṛgveda* 7.76.5)

- *Vrata* like *dharma* is inviolate and cannot be broken by *deva* or *asura*:

  न यस्येन्द्रो वरुणो न मित्रो व्रतम् अर्यमा न मिनन्ति रुद्रःनारातयस् तम् इदं स्वस्ति हुवे देवं सवितारं नमोभिः ॥ 2.038.09

  I invite to this place, with reverential salutations, for my good, that divine Savitā, whose functions neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra nor Aryaman nor Rudra nor the enemies (of the gods), impede.

- *Vrata* is used as a generic designation for "people" and with particular reference to "guilds" as in the use of the word, nigama linked with *grāma*. It may be postulated as a hypothesis that the term, *vrata* connoted the set of settlements which were fortified and where the *āyudha-jīvīs* and armourers lived in a *hārmya*, where the fire-places abounded to smelt mineral ore; the later-day association of *vrata* with *māgadha* also reinforces this link with people engaged in metallurgical activities since *Magadha* was close to the mineral-rich region in Bihar where the people migrated after the desiccation of the River Sarasvatī.
- *harmya* [Germ. xerma, Av. *zairimya*] *bhavana*, a large home, palace, mansion *ṚV* 7.55.6; *harmyeṣṭhā = prāsāda nivāsī*; dwelling in a house *ṚV* 7.56.16; *TS* 4.3.13.7 (Suryakanta Vedic.lex.) *harmiya* (metr.) = large house (*ṚV*); *hammiya* = large building with an upper story (Pali); *hammia* (Pkt.); *hamiya* palace (Si. EGS 189) < Pali (CDIAL 13998) *harmya* = temple or pavilion (LL) (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 126).

The code of the hieroglyphs is claimed to have been cracked stating that hieroglyphs connoted lexemes (as distinct from Egyptian hieroglyphs which connoted syllables). Kalyanaraman argues that the Sarasvatī hieroglyphs were neither alphabetic nor syllabic but lexemic. The validity of the code will become self-evident (without any Rosetta stones) as we run through the rebus lexemes, alchemical nature of soma and the nature of the *vrātya* tradition elaborated in the *Ṛgveda*. To explain the rebus (use of similar sounding words to connote substantive messages using glyphs or pictures) method, the following examples may be cited from Kalyanaraman's work:

The following are examples taken from a few dialects of ancient languages of Bhārat; many of these lexemes have cognates in all the language families of Bhārat, though only one lexeme is cited from one dialect for brevity of presentation in this summary:

homa = bison (Pengo); *hom* = gold (Kannaḍa) *soma* = electrum (*Ṛgveda*) *assem* = electrum (Old Egyptian).

rāngo = buffalo (Santali); *kuranga* = antelope (Sanskrit); *raṅku* = antelope (Santali) *raṅku* = tin (Santali).

kola = woman (Nahali); *kola* = tiger (Santali); *kol* = alloy of five metals (Tamil).

mlekh = antelope (Br.); *mṛeka* id. (Telugu); *milakkhu* = copper (Pali); *mleccha* id. (Sanskrit).

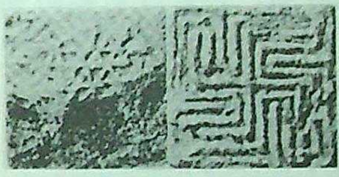
ibha = elephant (Sanskrit); *ib* = two (Kannaḍa); rebus: *ib* = iron (Santali).

adar ḍangra = Brahmāṇī bull (Santali); *aduru* = native metal (not smelted)(Kannaḍa); *ḍangar* = blacksmith (Western Pahari).

damra = heifer, steer (Gujarātī); *tambra* = copper (Kannaḍa); *tamba* id. (Santali); *tamra* id. (Sanskrit) *tibira* = merchant (copper) (Akkadian).

[The one-horned heifer is the most frequently occurring hieroglyph on epigraphs. The glyph is a ligature composed of one horn, and a heifer. *koḍ* = horn (Tamil); *koḍ* = artisan's workshop (Kuwi) *kamarsāla* = waist band; rebus: ***kamarsāla*** "workshop of smith" (Te.) Alternative: *kacca* = waistband (Tamil); *kacc* = iron (Kota)].

svastika = glyph (Sanskrit); *satthiya* id. (Prakrit); rebus: *sattu*, *satva* = zinc, pewter (Kannaḍa); *jasta* = zinc (Hindi).



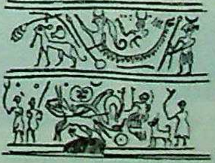
m443 (Svastika on obverse, endless-knot on reverse).

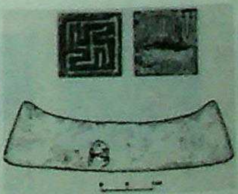
Thus, the animals shown on Sarasvatī epigraphs — bison, buffalo, tiger, antelope, Brahmāṇī or zebu bull, elephant, and heifer and the glyph svastika shown together with an elephant and tiger on a tablet, are minerals and metals worked on by smiths, *kammara* (Telugu).

Copper plate m1457 (endless-knot).

h128b tablet (five *svastika*) Why five?. ***pasra*** = smithy (Santali) *pañca* = five (Skt.).

m488A prism tablet (elephant, *svastika*, tiger).





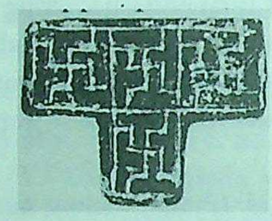
Composition: Endless-knot atop *ratha.*

m1225 cube seal with perforation through breadth (*svastika* on obverse, bull on reverse).

Copper blade (endless-knot).

Copper plate (*svastika*, endless-knot) m1356.

keccu the knot which is formed by twisting; to join the end of two threads by twisting them with the fingers (Ka.); *kerci* a knot (Tu.)(DEDR 1965).



h165 tablet

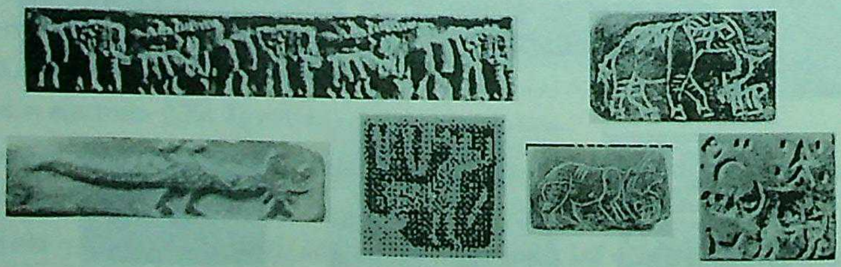
kacc iron, iron blade (Go.)(DEDR 1096).

- ***meṛhao*** = to entwine itself, wind round, wrap around, roll up (Santali.lex.).
- ***meṛiya*** = a rock (Te.) ***meṛed, mẽṛed*** iron; ***enga meṛed*** soft iron; ***sanḍi meṛed*** hard iron; ***ispāt meṛed*** steel; ***dul meṛed*** cast iron; ***i meṛed*** rusty iron, also the iron of which weights are cast; *bicameṛed* iron extracted from stone ore; ***balimeṛed*** iron extracted from sand ore; ***meṛed-bica*** = iron stone ore, in contrast to ***bali-bica***, iron sand ore (Mu.lex.).

-ḍhompo = knot on a string (Santali).

-ḍhompo = ingot (Santali).

Cylinder seal impression, Tell Asmar (After Frankfort, "The Indian Civilization and the near East", *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1932), Kalibaṅgan 033 (seal), m052, m0573 (tablets), pict-49 (seal) 1429c tablet.

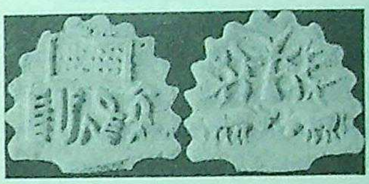


Many animals are shown with a trough in front. The trough is ḍaṅgra, rebus: smith

iṭaṅkar = alligator (Ta.); *ḍāṇro* "blacksmith" (N.) *pasaramu, pasalamu* = an animal, a beast, a brute, quadruped (Te.lex.) Thus, the depiction of animals in epigraphs is related to, rebus: ***pasra*** = smithy (Santali).

piserā a small deer brown above and black below (H.)(CDIAL 8365).

ḍāṅgra = wooden trough or manger sufficient to feed one animal (Mundari). ***ittaṅkakañṟi*** = a capacity measure (Ma.) Rebus: ***ḍhaṅgar*** "blacksmith" (Bi.).



Faience tablet. This unique mold-made faience tablet (H2000-4483/2342-01) was found in the eroded levels west of the tablet workshop in Trench 54. On one side is a short inscription under a rectangular box filled with 24 dots (or one pairs of 12 dots). The reverse has a narrative scene with two bulls fighting under a thorny tree.

- The bulls standing face to face: ***samna samni*** = face to face (Santali); rebus: ***samanom*** "gold" (Santali) ***homa*** = bison (Pengo); rebus: ***soma*** = electrum (*R̥V*); ***hom*** = gold (Ka.).
- ***baddī*** = ox (Nahali); ***baḍhi*** = worker in wood and metal (Santali).

kuṭi = tree (Telugu); *kuṭi* = woman water carrier (Telugu); rebus: *kuṭhi* = smelting furnace (Mundari).

baṭa = paddy bird (Telugu); *baṭi* = wide-mouthed rimless jar (Telugu) *baṭhi* = smelting furnace (*Hindī* Santali) *bhrāṣṭra* id. (Sanskrit).

nāga = snake (Sanskrit); rebus: *nāga* = lead (Sanskrit).

lo = nine; *loa* = ficus religiosa (Santali); rebus: *loh* = metal (Sanskrit).

kamaḍha = ficus religiosa (Santali); rebus: *kampaṭṭamu* = portable gold furnace; *kampaṭṭam* = mint (Tamil).

kūṭam = summit of mountain (Telugu); mountain + leaf ligature = *kampaṭṭakūṭam* = mint (Tamil).

ãs = scales of fish (Santali); rebus: *ayas* = metal (perhaps iron); *amśu* = scales of soma, electrum (*Ṛgveda*).

beḍa hako = a species of fish (Santali); rebus: *beḍa* = one end of a hearth (Gujarātī) *hako* = axe (Ho. Boda).

era = nave of wheel (Kannaḍa); *arā* = spokes (*Ṛgveda*); rebus: *ara, era* = copper (Pali. Pkt.) *aru* = copper (Akkadian).

Two animals — tiger and antelope — are orthographically depicted as looking backwards. There is a lexeme in Telugu to explain this: *krammarincu* = to turn backwards. The rebus is: *kammara* "smith" (Telugu). One is a smith working with an alloy of five metals (*kol*) and another is a smith working with copper (*milakkhu*).

kamar a semi-Hinduized caste of blacksmiths; ***kamari*** the work of a blacksmith, the money paid for blacksmith work; ***nunak ato reak in kamarieda*** I do the blacksmith work for so many villages (Santali) *kārmāra* = metalsmith who makes arrows, etc., of metal (*ṚV* 9.112.2: ***jaratībhih oṣadhībhih parṇebhih śakunānām kārmāro aśmabhiḥ dyubhih hiraṇyavantam icchatī***) *kammar* a, *kammāra, kammagāra,* ***karmāra, karmakāra, kammagāra, kambāra*** = one who does any business; an artisan, a mechanic; a blacksmith (Ka.)[viii] ***kammāḷa*** = an artisan, an artificer: a blacksmith, a goldsmith (Ta.Ka.); a goldsmith (Ka.) *kammara* = the blacksmith or ironsmith caste; *kammaramu* = the blacksmith's work, working in iron, smithery; *kammaravāḍu, kammari, kammarīḍu* = a blacksmith, ironsmith; *kammarikamu* = a collective name for the people of the *kamma* caste (Te.) ***karmāraśāla*** = workshop of blacksmith (Skt.) ***kammāṛasāle*** = the workshop of a blacksmith (Ka.); ***kamasālavāḍu*** = a blacksmith (Te.) ***kamarsārī*** smithy (Mth.) *kambāṛike, kammāṛike* = a blacksmith's business (Ka.Ma.) (Ka.lex.) (DEDR 1236).

The seated person wears a waist-band.

Rebus: ***karmāraśāla*** = workshop of blacksmith (Skt.).

Glyph: *kamarsāla* = waistband (Te.).

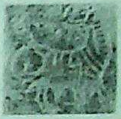
kamba, kambha = Tbh. of *stambha* or *skambha* = a post, a pillar (Ka.Te.Tu.Ma.M.Skt.); a mast (Ta.Ma.) *kambhagaṭṭu* = a construction on pillars (Ka.).

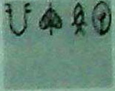
kambu = a conch, a shell (Ka.); a bracelet (Ka.).

kamarasāla = waist-zone, waist-band, belt (Te.) *kammaru* = the loins, the waist (Ka.Te.M.); *kamara* (H.); *kammarubanda* = a leather waist band, belt (Ka.H.) *kammaru* = a waistband, belt (Te.) *kammarincu* = to cover (Te.) *kamari* = a woman's girdle (Te.) komor = the loins; *komor kaṭhi* = an ornament made of shells, resembling the tail of a tortoise, tied round the waist and sticking out behind, worn by men sometimes when dancing (Santali) *kambra* = a blanket (Santali) [Note the pannier tied as a waist band to the one-horned heifer].

krammaṛa = to turn, return (Te.); *krammaṛilu, krammaṛillu, krammaṛabaḍu* = to turn, return, to go back; *krammaṛu* = again; *krammaṛincu* = to turn or send back (Te.lex.) [Note the glyph showing an antelope or a tiger turning back]. *kramaṇa* = act of walking or going (G.lex.) *krama* = step, series (AV); *kramēṇa* by degrees (R.); *kama* = step, way (Pali); foot, series (Pkt.); *-krem* in *oiñ-krem* and *ã-krem* = upper and lower teeth (Wg.); *krammar-ilu, krammar-illu, krammar-abaḍu* = to turn, return, to go back; *krammar-u* = again; *krammar-incu* = to turn or send back (Te.lex.) [Note the glyph showing an antelope or a tiger turning back]. *kramaṇa* = act of walking or going (G.lex.) *krama* = step, series (AV); *kramēṇa* by degrees (R.); *kama* = step, way (Pali); foot, series (Pkt.); *-krem* in *oiñ-krem* and *ã-krem* = upper and lower teeth (Wg.) **kamra* = the back (Skt.); *krem* = the back (Kho.)(CDIAL 2776). **parikamra* = near the back (Skt.); *parikamā* = behind the shoulder (Ash.)(CDIAL 7799v). *kamak* = back (Sang.); *com* = back of an animal (Shgh.); **kamak* = back of an animal (G.M.); *kama* neck (Yghn.)(CDIAL 14356).

m0504At


m0504Bt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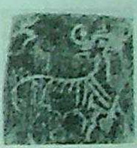
m0505At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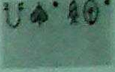
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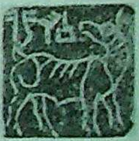
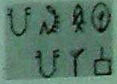
m1452Act


m1452Bct

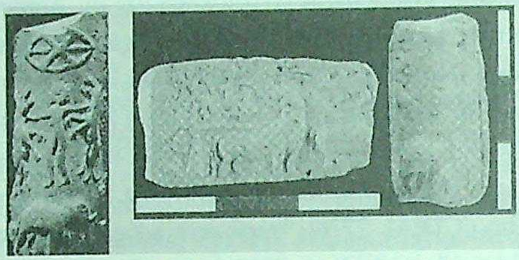

2912

(Similar imagery of an antelope looking back appears on m-1448 to m-1452).

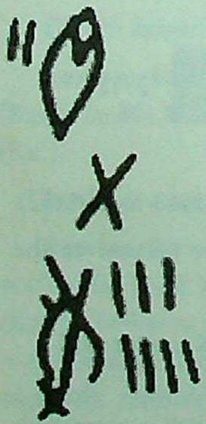
Similarly, a tiger looking back is a glyph which can be related to the *krammara* "to return"; rebus: *kammāra* "smith, artisan".

Inscribed objects from Harappā 2000-2001 (Jonathan Mark Kenoyer and Richard H. Meadow)

Slide 185 Molded terracotta tablet (H2001-5075/2922-01) with a narrative scene of a man in a tree with a tiger looking back over its shoulder. The tablet, found in the Trench 54 area on the west side of Mound E, is broken, but was made with the same mold as ones found on the eastern side of Mound E and also in other parts of the site (see slide 89 for the right hand portion of the same scene). The reverse, of the same molded terracotta tablet, shows a deity grappling with two tigers and standing above an elephant (see slide 90 for a clearer example from the same mold).



- Golden pendant with inscription from jewellery hoard at Mohenjo-Dāro. Needle-like pendant with cylindrical body. Two other examples, one with a different series of incised signs were found together. The pendant is made from a hollow cylinder with soldered ends and perforated point. Museum No. MM 1374.50.271; Marshall 1931: 521, pl. CLI, B3. [After Fig. 4.17a, b in: JM Kenoyer, 1998, p. 196].



- Line 1: read from right: *kanac* (corner; *kanac konoc, kana kona, kana kuni* "the corners, in the corners" (Santali); rebus: *kañcu* (bronze); two short linear strokes: *barea* "two"; rebus: *baṛae* = blacksmith (Ash.).
- Line 2: *baṭa* "road"; ***baṭa*** "kiln."
- Line 3: *pon* "four"; rebus: *hom* "gold"; *tebra* "three"; rebus: ***tambra*** "copper"; *beḍa* "fish"; rebus: ***beḍa*** "hearth."
- Bronze-smith with kiln and hearth for gold and copper.

This pendant would have been worn like a *maṅgaṭasūtram*; it could also be a *maṅgaḷasūtram* worn by a bride to denote the properties possessed by the bridegroom. The epigraph is like a professional calling card denoting the workplace and tools-of-trade of the person presenting the calling card.

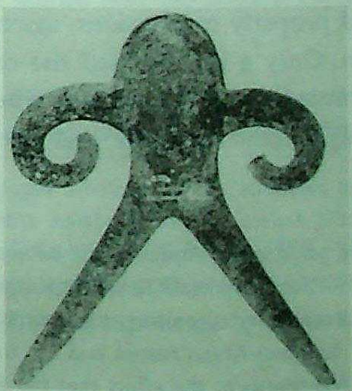
The most frequently occurring glyph is that of a rim of a narrow-necked jar. This is read as: *khanda kanka*. The rebus is: *kand* "altar, furnace"; *kan-* "copper"; thus the hieroglyph connotes a copper furnace.

Similarly, the device in front of the one-horned heifer is read as: *sangada* = furnace, gimlet of a lathe. The device is thus a ligature of a portable furnace (shown on the lower part) and a lathe (shown on the upper part). *Sangada* is a furnace. ***sangada*** also means a joined animal (Marāṭhī).

An archer is *kamadha*; a person sitting in a yogic posture is *kamadha* (Pali) The rebus is: *kammata* = portable gold furnace (Telugu).

The list continues for hundreds of hieroglyphs virtually covering all the frequently occurring sign pairs or pictorial motifs on the epigraphs.

On these lines, all the hieroglyphs contained in pictorial motifs and signs (which average 5 per epigraph) can be read in the context of brazier's possessions, some of which are traded. The lexemes tagged to the hieroglyphs point to a dialectical continuum among all ancient languages of Bhārata — be the dialects of Muṇḍa, or Draviḍian or Indo-Āryan categories. The civilization *circa* 5000 years ago constituted a linguistic area where all the speakers of these dialects were intelligible to all and the hieroglyphs functioned as a writing system to validate, like bills of lading, the trade transactions in minerals and metals. There are also hieroglyphs related to beads and other artefacts made by lapidaries, braziers and metallurgists.



Fish glyph is incised on a copper anthropomorph found in copper hoards of historical periods: ***beḍa*** = hearth; *beḍa* = fish (Santali) The orthography relates to the curved horns of a raṁ *mlekh* "goat" (Br.); rebus: ***milakkhu*** "copper" (Pali).

Harappā. Copper dagger. Inscribed.

The proto-versions of present-day languages of Bhārat were a dialectical continuum, a linguistic area on the banks of Rivers Sarasvatī and Sindhu for the millennia starting from the fourth millennium BCE and match with the archaeological evidence and continuing tradition in Bhārat.

The delineation of *Mleccha* language as the language substrate which finds echoes through glosses in all ancient languages of Bhārat and the ability to read the hieroglyphs as *mlecchita vikalpa* pictorials presents a dramatically new picture of the language situation in Bhārat on Sarasvatī and Sindhu River Basins and in the coastal regions of Rann of Kutch, Gulf of Khambat, Makran coast and along the Persian Gulf. The substratum dialects constituting *Mleccha* can explain (1) the presence of many non-Indo-European words in an ancient text such as the *Ṛgveda* (see *Indian Lexicon*, a comparative dictionary of over 25 ancient Bhāratīya languages at http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati); and (2) the indigenous origins and autochthonous evolution of Bhāratīya culture along the coastline of Sindhu Sāgara and in the Sarasvatī River Basin which is dotted with over 2,000 (out of 2,600) archaeological sites of the "Harappan" culture. (Kuiper, FBJ, 1991, *Aryans in the Rigveda*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, p. 15).[8]

Many epigraphs are inscribed on copper plates. This tradition continues in the historical periods in Bhārat. Many glyphs used on punch-marked coins mark a continuity from Sarasvatī hieroglyphs. Copper-plate inscriptions during historical periods were used to record property transactions, again a continuing from Sarasvatī civilization tradition. Only a brazier had the competence to inscribe on metal plates and even on weapons themselves. The brazier was recording property transactions using *Mleccha* language and *Mlecchita vikalpa*.

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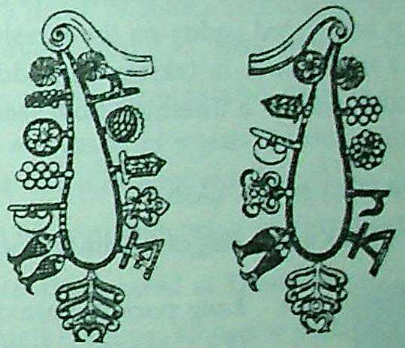
8. Kuiper goes on to list 383 "foreign elements" in the Ṛgvedic vocabulary of words such as: *akṣa, araru, alina, āṇḍa, kūla, krumu, gargara, chubuka, dṛbhīka, nāḍī, phaṇ, phaliga, bhala, maṇḍūki, mayūra, mala, yakṣu, yadu, viṣpalā, śakaṭī, śakuna, śaṇḍika, śabala, sinīvālī, sṛbida.* The approximately 380 "foreign words" listed by Kuiper are computed to be nine precent of the Ṛgvedic vocabulary contained in Grassmann's dictionary. ". . . many among these "Aryanas" had non-Aryan names and . . . this fact points to some inescapable conclusions. . . Statements to the effect that the Rigveda was no longer purely Aryan are therefore correct to the extent that they refer to the language and the ethnic components: both were "Aryan"." (p. 96).

Necklaces with a number of pendants *Maṅgalaka hāra* depicted on a pillar of a gateway (*toraṇa*) at the *stūpa* of Sāñcī, Central India, first century BCE. [After V.S. Agrawala, 1969, *The deeds of Harsha (being a cultural study of Bāṇa's Harshacharita*, ed. P.K. Agrawala, Varanasi: fig. 62] The *hāra* or necklace shows a pair of fish signs together with a number of motifs indicating weapons (*cakra, paraśu, aṅkuśa*), including a device that parallels the standard device normally shown in many inscribed objects of SSVC in front of the one horned bull (cf. Marshall, J. and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1936, repr. 1982, pl. 27). The first necklace has eleven and the second one has thirteen pendants (cf. V.S. Agrawala, 1977, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, Varanasi, p. 169); he notes the eleven pendants as: sun, *śukra, padmasara, aṅkuśa, vaijayanti, paṅkaja, mīnamithuna, śrīvatsa, paraśu, darpaṇa* and *kamala*. "The axe (*paraśu*) and *aṅkuśa* pendants are common at sites of north India and some of their finest specimens from Kausambi are in the collection of Dr. M.C. Dikshit of Nagpur." (Dhavalikar, M.K., 1965, *Sāñci: A Ccultural Study*, Poona, p. 44; loc.cit. Dr. Mohini Verma, 1989, *Dress and Ornaments in Ancient India: The Maurya and Śuṅga Periods*, Varanasi, Indological Book House, p. 125).



Note that one of the pendants looks like the "device" normally found in front of the one horned bull, the *saṅgaḍa*, portable brazier and lathe (also meaning, battle).

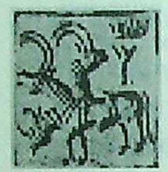
These are perhaps, precursors of the artistic tradition of depicting divinities with many arms which are sacred attributes.

Rebus Method

The method for decoding the cypher writing, called ***mlecchita vikalpa*** (lit. writing of copper-workers) is *rebus*: representation of words through pictures. Who else had the competence to write on metal, excepting a metal-worker in early times?

Like hieroglyphs, the pictorials on inscribed objects of Sarasvatī Sindhu Civilization will be read using the *rebus* method, identifying homonyms or similar-sounding words in languages of Bhārata.

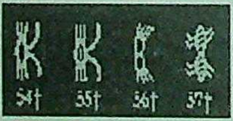
For example, if a backbone is shown in a picture, it represents some word which represents both a backbone and something more substantive, in the context of, say, the tools of trade of ancient artisans, representing the possessions of and products produced by artisans to prepare bills of lading or demonstrate property possessed. If a backbone was called ***baraḍo*** it may be a rebus representation of ***baraḍo*** (*vardhaka*), carpenter.



M1170 Sign 176: Comb ***kangha*** (IL 1333) *kãgherā* comb-maker (H.)

kolom = a reed, a reed-pen (B.); *qalam* (Assamese.Hindī); *kolma hoṟo* = a variety of the paddy plant (Deśī) (Santali.lex.Bodding) *kolom baba* = the threshed or unthreshed paddy on the threshing floor; *kolom-bārum* = the weight a man carries in taking the paddy from the threshing floor to his house; *kolom* = a threshing floor (Mundari) Rebus: ***kolime*** = furnace (Ka.).

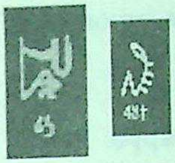
- ***Spider kaṅgarā*** (Tir.) *gaṅges*. (Ash.).
- *khā̃g* (H.) *khāg* (B.H.Ku.N.); *khagga* = rhinoceros (Pkt.).



- *kaṅg* portable brazier (B.); *kãguru, kãgar* (Ka.); *kaṅgar* = large brazier (K.) *kaṅg* = brazier, fireplace (K.)(IL 1332) fireplace (K.)(IL1332) m1405Bt Pict-48 A tiger and a rhinoceros in file [*kol* "tiger"; rebus: *kolhe* "smelters of iron".] Thus, when pictorials: a ***backbone***, a ***jar*** and ***teeth of a comb*** are depicted on inscribed objects, they may be read in Meluhhan or *Mleccha* language as: ***baraḍo, kaṇḍ, kaṅg*** (meaning backbone, jar and comb), *rebus* representation ***carpenter*** (*baraḍo*), (smelting) ***furnace*** (*kaṇḍ*) and portable (perhaps goldsmith's), ***forging furnace*** (*kãgar*).

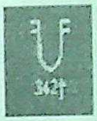
So, as technology evolved from stone- to wood- to lapidary- or metal-work, a carpenter has graduated to metal-work as the bronze-age dawned, now working with types of furnaces on ores and alloying metals.

He, a ***vardhaki***, of neolithic times (***vaḍḍa***, a digger of tanks), had acquired new skills and become adept in new technologies, of the chalcolithic and bronze ages, and was a ***baṛae, baḍhoe, baḍhī*** a worker in wood and metal (Santali).

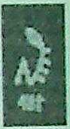


Sign 48

To depict him pictorially, in a writing system, a backbone (***baraḍo***) or a bull (***baradh***) or a kneeling adorant (***bharaḍo***, "devotee of Śiva") are depicted, since all these semantics are represented by a word which sounds similar to the word used to connote an artisan — a mason, a carpenter, a worker in wood and metal: ****baraḍo (vardhaki)***.



(114) **Sign 48 (168)**



Copper tablets (13)

h172B Field Symbol 36 (10)

On tablet h172b a lizard is shown catching scales of fish: •*ās* = scales of fish (Santali); rebus: ***aya*** = iron (G.); ***ayah, ayas*** = metal (Skt.).

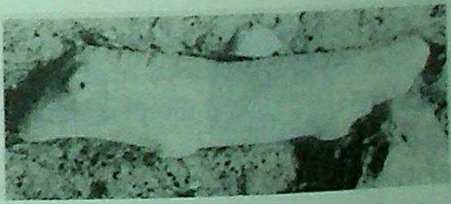
Sign 48: ***baraḍo*** = spine, the backbone, back (G.).

Rebus: ***bhāratiyo*** = a caster of metals, a brazier; *bhāratar, bhāratal, bhārataḷ* = moulded; an article made in a mould (G.).

barduga = a man of acquirements, a proficient man (Ka.).

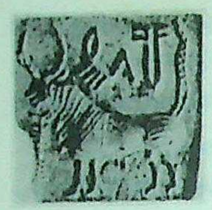
Stone Monitor Lizard Discovered at Dholavīra

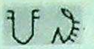
kuduru = lizard (Santali.); Rebus: ***kuduru*** = portable gold furnace (Te.)

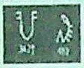


Face Ligatured to a Composite Animal

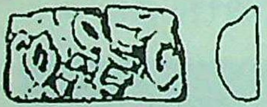
mūhẽ = face; rebus: *mūhā* = quantity of iron smelted at one time in the earthen furnace of the Kolhes; *mūhā mẽṛhẽt* = iron smelted by the Kolhes and formed into an equilateral lump a little pointed at each of four ends (Santali).



m0301  2258 That just two signs constitute the inscription, is indicative of the substantive nature of the "skeleton" glyph in relation to the *kaṇḍ*, "altar, furnace".

The pair of signs (Sign 48 and Sign 342) is a frequently-occurring pair with over 100 occurrences among the epigraphs. 

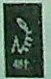
Sign 48 is the centre-piece on a raised copper tablet: Harappā. Raised script. H94-2198. [After Fig. 4.14 in J.M. Kenoyer, 1998]. Eight inscribed copper tablets were found at Harappā and all were made with raised script, a technique quite different from the one used at Mohenjo-Dāro for flat copper tablets with many duplicates. The duplicates occur on steatite and faience tablets at Harappā; these may have represented **a commodity or a value** [cf. JM Kenoyer, 1998, p. 74].

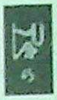


27.02 Harappā. Cast tablet, copper alloy. The glyph (Sign 48) depicting the backbone of a kneeling person occurs on side A of a copper plate (m0511).

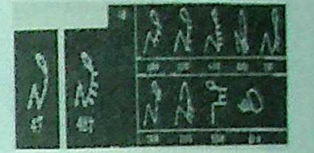
Kālibaṅgan100

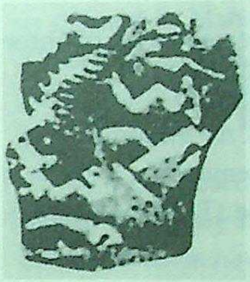
Seated skeletal person (Sign 48) It will be seen from the sign variants that the artist is focusing on three characteristics: the person is seated, the backbone is emphasized, the person wears a hair-do. The kneeling posture is clearly comparable to Sign 45 which shows a kneeling adorant, but Sign 48 is evolved without the ligature of a rimless pot.

Evolution of Sign 48  can be explained from the orthography of a seal from Kalibaṅgan (048) which clearly demonstrates that the artist is trying to emphasize the semantics of a backbone of a kneeling person, perhaps also making an offering.



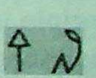
Sign 45

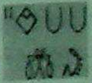




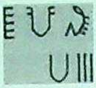
Kalibaṅgan048 "The seated person is facing right (in the original seal), leaning forward. He has a large head and a massive jaw jutting forward. The complete ribcage is shown in clear detail with almost all the ribs in position, curving naturalistically on either side of the backbone. The deity appears to be holding a ladle (?) in his right hand. His knees are drawn up and he seems to be squatting on his haunches. The details are clearly visible in the highly enlarged photograph of the seal published in Pl. 275: Omananda Saraswati 1975. *Ancient Seals of Haryana* (in Hindi). Rohtak." (I. Mahadevan, "Murukan" in the Indus Script, *The Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, March 1999).

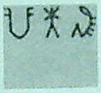
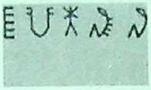
A three sign sequence including this "seated skeletal person" is the most frequently occurring three-sign sequence among the inscribed objects. The occurrence is mostly on miniature tablets of Harappā.

h503  4129 m0330A 0330B

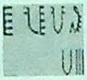
Perforated through the narrow edge of a two-sided seal  1475 Many incised miniature tablets of Harappā contain this sign within a sequence as shown on one side: h959Ait (incised tablet). Many duplicate texts contain this sign sequence.

[glyphs: backbone, rim of pot, comb]

h233A h233B  4387

h179A h179B  307 h741Bt 

5263 h742At [The last two signs of Text 5263 occur on 184 epigraphs]

[At least 46 inscribed objects with epigraphs contain the sequence of three signs — line 1 (Statistics from Mahadevan corpus)  4387]

mandil, mandir = temple (Santali) *māḍa* = shrine of a demon (Tu.); *māḍia* = house (Pkt.); *māḷa* a sort of pavilion (Pali); *māḷikai* = temple (Ta.)(DEDR 4796). ***māḍa*** = pavilion (Te.)

maṇḍā = workshop (Kon.).

h238A h242A h242B Pict-84

To add greater precision in the message conveyed, other pictorials — as semantic determinants — may be ligatured; for example, a trough may be shown in front of a bull; the trough is *ḍhaṅgar*; a rebus representation of ***ḍhaṅgara, ṭhakkura,*** "blacksmith". A new principle in the writing system emerges: ligaturing as a means of conveying multiplicity of functions performed or alloys created, using multiplicity of ores and metals.

Thus, when a bull, an antelope and a one-horned bull are ligatured, the message is: *baraḍo* (*vardhaki*), *meḍho, vahuṛo*; the rebus representation of ***vardhaki*** (carpenter), ***meḍha*** (merchant's clerk or Meluhhan) and ***vāhuṛa, vākaran-*** (worker or soldier).

With such a sophisticated writing system, many messages can be precisely conveyed using pictorials.

Applying the Method

The corpus of words is provided by the Indian Lexicon (http://www.hindunet.org) which covers a gamut of about half-a-million words of over 25 ancient languages of Bhārata ranging from *Ṛgveda* to Nahali, from Buruṣāski to Brahui, from Prākṛt to Gujarātī.

The surprise is that out of these words which are organized into over 8000 semantic clusters, one professional, specialized category seems to adequately explain most of the picture-words of the writing system, which number between 600 to 800 (i.e., about 400 signs plus about 200 to 400 pictorial motifs); the category is: tools of trade of artisans of the bronze age. [A sign is as defined in Mahadevan corpus; examples of pictorial motifs: a dotted circle, a *svastika*, an endless-knot, a trefoil, a curved horn, a pannier, a ligatured device of a furnace and a gimlet, a trough placed in front of an animal, a person hiding on a tree branch, a tiger or antelope looking back].

In the following examples, we will focus only on a few pictorial motifs within the many motifs depicted on inscribed objects. As the code unravels, other pictorials have to be read internal consistency provided by one category — tools of trade of artisans.

From a survey of the following semantic clusters which could have formed the basis for the depiction of pictographs on inscribed objects — to represent life-activities of a people —, it is hypothesized that the orthographic representation of a backbone (***baraḍo*** — Gujarātī) and a bull (***baradh*** — Punjābī) — both connote a mason, with an early phonetic form: __*barḍa__ which gets adopted into Saṁskṛtam (hyper-Sanskritized) as ***vardhaka.*** [semantic: cutting, dividing, cutting off, shearing; a carpenter (Rāmāyaṇa); cf. homonym: ***vṛdh*** = exhilarate (esp. the gods, with praise or sacrifice) *ṚV.*; cf. ***bharaḍo,*** "devotee of Śiva" (Gujarati); ***vṛdhat***= elevate, raise to power, cause to prosper or thrive *AV. ŚBr. Mbh.* ; to exalt, magnify, glorify (esp. the gods) (Skt.)]. A superb example of the evolution of a few Sanskrit words from the substratum Meluhhan or indic, since the words find their echoes in almost all languages of Bhārata.

?furnace. Suffixed o-grade form _*g^{w}hoṛnō_. **a.** fornax, furnace, hornito, from Latin furnus, fornus, fornāx, oven; _*gwhṛ_. **a.** burn from Old English *beornan*, *byrnan* (intransitive) and baernan (transitive), to burn; **?forge.** Middle English, from Old French, from Vulgar Latin _*faurga_, from Latin *fabrica*, from *faber*, worker. **?hearth.** Middle English *herth*, from Old English heorth.

bharāḍ = a religious service or entertainment performed by a *bharāḍī*; consisting of singing the praises of some idol or god with playing on the *ḍaur* (drum) and dancing (Marāṭhī). Cognates:

bard Middle English, from Irish and Scottish Gaelic bard and from Welsh bard. **1.** One of an ancient Celtic order of minstrel poets who composed and recited verses celebrating the legendary exploits of chieftains and heroes. **2.** A poet, especially a lyric poet.

ballad: etymology: Middle English *balade*, poem or song in stanza form, from Old French *ballade*, from Old Provençal *balada*, song sung while dancing, from *balar*, to dance, from Late Latin *ballāre*, to dance. http://www.bartleby.com

A pair is connoted by ***barea***, "two" (Santali).

It, is, therefore, suggested that these pictographs of a kneeling person with emphasis on the backbone and two bulls face-to-face connote a mason.

Vardhaka, "Carpenter, Mason"

What could have been the early phonetic form of words connoting, "artisan" or workers in stone, wood and metal (ores)? Were there distinct words connoting a differentiation of functions among, say, a wood-worker, a stone-worker and a metal-worker?

The occurrence of ***barī*** in Ash. (CDIAL 9464) and ***baṛae*** in Mundari and of ***vardhaka*** in Skt. point to the early phonetic form: ***barḍa***; semantic: worker in iron and wood, artisan. Thus, it is suggested that the depiction of the backbone, baraḍo is rebus for ***barḍa***, artisan.

There is another semantic stream, ***vaḍḍe*** (Telugu), ***vaḍḍhaki*** (Pkt.), [?****baraḍa***] connoting, respectively, a digger of tanks (perhaps the same group of people who had the competence to create a rock-cut reservoir in Dholavīra) and carpenter, mason.

baṛae = a blacksmith; *baṛae-kudlam* = a country-made hoe, in contrast to *calāni kudlam*, an imported hoe; *baṛae-meṛed* — country-smelted iron; ***baṛae-***muruk = the energy of a blacksmith (Mundari.lex.) *baṛae* = *baḍae* (Santali.lex.) ***barī*** = blacksmith, artisan (Ash.)(CDIAL 9464).

bhārata, "an alloy of metals cast in moulds"; ***bhārata*** = a factitious metal compounded of copper, pewter, tin, etc.; green carbonate of lime (M.lex.) *baraḍ, barhaṭ* = rough; not hard; brittle (G.lex.) *bharata* = casting metals in molds; ***bhāratar, bhāratal, bhārataḷ*** = adj. moulded; an article made in a mould;

bhāratiyo = a caster of metals; a brazier; *bhāravum* = to keep live coals, buried in the ashes (G.lex.) *bhārata* = fire in which the rice for brāhamaṇs is boiled; name of Rudra (the Maruts are called his sons: *ṚV* 2.36.8); name of an Āditya: *Nir.* 8.13); name of Agni (kept alive by the care of men)(*ṚV*); of a particular Agni (father of Bhārata and Bhāratī)(*Mbh.*); a priest (*ṛtvij*: *Naigh.* 3.18)(Skt.lex.) *bharta* = a method of cooking fish, mushrooms and vegetables by wrapping up in leaves and roasting in ashes (Santali.lex.) ***barāṭa*** = a kind of firework (Tu.lex.) *bharta* = bake in live coals (Santali); *bharta* (Deśī)(Santali.lex.) ***bharaṇyu*** = fire (Skt.lex.).

Underlying Assumptions for Decoding the Epigraphs

The assumptions made are: 1. The glyphs are hieroglyphs; 2. The glyphs are inscribed by metal-workers.

It is a dramatically simple model which explains almost all the epigraphs, contextually and in terms of historical tradition and continuity of heritage.

Who else but a metallurgist, incises on a copper plate for a property/ economic transaction or record glyphs on punch-marked coins?

Unlike Egyptian hieroglyphs which are syllables and alphabets, Sarasvatī hieroglyphs are lexemes. One can't be simpler than that in an early invention of writing for trade and recording professions — *varṇas*, for example, of *pāñcāla*s or *pañca-kammāḷar*, five artisans, or *pāñcajanya* "of five people" in a true Bhāratīya tradition.

The epigraphs are not likely to be individual ID because there are numerous duplicates within the small corpus of about 4000 inscribed objects with epigraphs. They could be guild ID's if reference to kod. "artisan's workshop" is an indication. ***Koḍ*** is a word with this meaning in Pego language and other Bhāratīya languages. It also means a "horn".

Glyph: ***kōṭu*** = horns (Ta.).[9]

Rebus: ***koḍ*** = artisan's workshop (Kuwi).

ḍhompo = knot (on a string)(Santali).

Alternative: ***meṛhao*** = to entwine itself, wind round, wrap around, roll up (Santali.lex.); rebus: ***mēṛhēt*** = iron (Santali).

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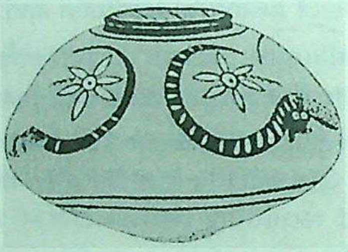
9. ***kōr*** (obl. ***kōṭ***, pl. ***kōhk***) horn of cattle or wild animals (Go.); ***kōr*** (pl. ***kōhk***), ***kōṛu*** (pl. ***kōhku***) horn (Go.); ***kogoo*** a horn (Go.); ***kōju*** (pl. ***kōska***) horn, antler (Kui) (DEDR 2200). Homonyms: ***kohk*** (Go.), *gopkā* = branches (Kui), kob = branch (Ko.) ***gorka***, ***gohka*** spear (Go.) *gorka* (Go.) (DEDR 2126).

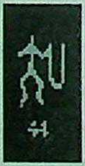
ḍab, ḍhimba, ḍhompo "lump (ingot?)", clot, make a lump or clot, coagulate, fuse, melt together (Santali) ***ḍhimba*** = become lumpy, solidify; a lump (of molasses or iron ore, also of earth); ***sadaere kolheko tahēkanre ḍhimba mēṛhēt reak khaṇḍako benāoet tahēkanā*** = formerly when the Kolhes were here they made implements from lumps of iron (Santali) *ḍabbu* a dub or copper coin, four pays (Ka.Te.); *ṭappu* (Ta.); *ḍhabbū* a double pice (M.)(Ka.lex.) *tāmbro* = copper (Tu.lex.).

darap, dorob, dorob "metal, excluding iron, money, wealth"; *dorobos* all the necessaties of life (Santali).

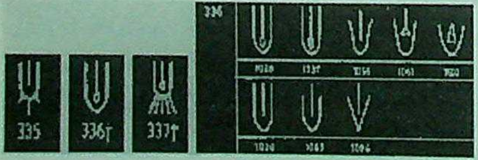
ḍabe, ḍabea "large horns, with a sweeping upward curve, applied to buffaloes"; *ḍabea kaḍa* = a buffalo with large curved horns; *ḍabe deren* = horns as described (Santali).



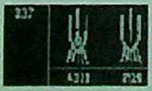
Buffalo-horned face. Painting on a jar. Kot Diji. c. 2800-2600 BCE [After Khan 1965, pl. XVIIb; cf. Fig. 2.25 in J.M. Kenoyer, 1998, Ancient cities of the *Indus Valley Civilization*, Karachi, Oxford University Press].



Sign 44 **ḍabe** = adj. bandy-legged (with knees a little bent)(Santali).



V336



V337 Signs 335, 336, 337 **ḍabu** "an iron spoon" (Santali).

Justification for the use of Rebus Method: Structure, Form and Function of Epigraphs

Through a number of monographs, superb structural analyses of the inscriptions have been done by both Parpola and Mahadevan. The analyses point to the use of most of the signs as representing "nouns".

The use of the rebus methodology is justified on the following evidence and analysis:

The pictographs to which "sound-bites" need to be tagged, as keys to the process of decoding the inscriptions, cover a wide range and number of inscribed objects as shown by the following frequencies (out of 13,372 occurrences of signs and 100 pictorial motifs the frequencies are only indicative numbers, hence, approximate and are subject to change as the orthography of many pictographs and signs get more precisely identified):

Hieroglyphs and Frequencies of Occurrence on Epigraphs

One-horned bull with a pannier	1159 + 5 (with two horns)
Shor-horned bull	95 +2 (in opposition)
Zebu or Brāhmaṇī bull	54
Buffalo	14
Elephant	55 + 1 (horned)
Tiger (including tiger looking back)	16 + 5 (horned)
Boar	39 + 1 (in opposition)
Goat-antelope	36 + 1 (flanking a tree)
Ox-antelope	26
Hare	10 +1 (object shaped like hare)
Ligatured animal	41
Alligator	49
Fish	14 (objects shaped like fish); fish also a sign
Frog	1
Serpent	10
	34 + 1 (leaves); leaf also a sign ***tebṛa, teboṛ*** = thrice (Santali) *ta(m)bra* = Copper (Pkt.); *tibira* =copper merchant (Akkadian)

Tree	67
Dotted circle	*ghaṅghar ghoṅghor* "full of holes" (Santali); rebus: *kaṅgar* "portable furnace" (K.)
Svastika	23 rebus: *satthiyā* "dagger, knife" (Pkt.) *satva* "zinc" (Ka.)
Endless-knot	4
Double-axe	14 (inscribed objects shaped like axe)
Standard device (lathe, portable furnace)	19
Rimmed narrow-necked jar	1395
Fish signs	1241
Leaf signs	100
Spoked wheel	203
Cart frame + wheels	26
Sprout (or, tree stylized)	800
Water-carrier	220
Scorpion	106
Claws (of crab)	130 + 90 (shaped like pincers)
Arrow (spear)	227
Rimless, wide-mouthed pot	350

Frequency range	*No. of signs*	*Total sign occurrences*	*Percentage*	*Cumulative percentags*
1000 or more	1	1395	10.43	10.43
999-500	1	649	4.85	15.28
499-100	31	6344	47.44	62.72
99-50	34	2381	17.81	80.53
49-10	86	1833	13.71	94.24
9-2	152	658	4.92	99.16
Only once	112	112	.84	100.00

Thus, only 67 signs account for a total of 80.53 per cent of all occurrences of signs on inscribed objects [after Mahadevan, 1977: 17].

Unit of Analysis: Inscribed Object

We have to be very cautious in interpreting the individual signs and individual pictorials; because, given the small size of the corpus, virtually ANY lexemic or phonemic or even artistic (cultural) value may be assigned and ANY language may be read into the inscriptions, if inscriptions are, "readable" in a language and do not merely represent artistic extravaganzas.

Total objects presented in Parpola pictorial corpuses and Mahadevan concordance are a statistically small population, further fragmented due to the 400 to 500 signs (including variants and ligatures of basic signs) and over 100 (including variants and pictorial ligatures yielding the so-called "fabulous" animals categories). Thus, statistical stratification techniques assuming a normal distribution of population cannot provide statistically verifiable results.

Hence, an inscribed object is the unit of analysis.

Considering that as many as 273 (111 + 42 + 120) inscriptions are communicated using two signs or less (with or without a pictorial motif or "field symbol"), it may not be appropriate to assign syllabic or alphabetic values to each sign or each pictorial. Each pictorial or each sign may contain a "word" or "lexeme". (Unless, of course, the entire messaging system is cryptographic using "syllabic" or "alphabetic" codes; this we think, is unlikely considering the nature of the cylinder seals in Mesopotamia mainly with pictorials used to convey movable property items.)

One clue emerges from the fact that there are inscribed object with only pictorials (i.e., without any sign constituting a "text"): the pictorials are as important as signs and must be "deciphered" to understand the message conveyed by the inscription on an object.

Another clue may be surmised considering that there are inscribed objects with just a single sign: a sign by itself may constitute a message and hence may be a lexeme.

Nature of Objects with Epigraphs

Possessions and objects made could be described on epigraphs on many types of objects, such as: seals, tablets, copper plates, bangles and even on a monumental display-board (like an advertisement hoarding).

The frequencies in parenthesis are based on Mahadevan concordance (which excludes objects that do not contain a "sign"); the actual numbers will be higher based on the more comprehensive Parpola photo corpus which includes inscriptions containing only pictorials.

Seals (1814)

Tablets (in bas-relief or inscribed) (511)* [including Seal Impressions].

Miniature tablets (of stone, terracotta or faience) (272).

Copper tablets (plates) (135).

Bronze implements/weapons (11).

Seal Impressions.*

Pottery graffitii (119).

Ivory or bone rods (29).

Inscribed on stone, bracelets (or, bangles), Ivory plaque, Ivory dice, Carnelian tablet, Terracotta ball, Brick (15).

Display-board (Dholavīra or Kotda with 10 signs, possibly atop a gateway) (1).

Almost all the miniature tablets are from Harappā; almost all copper tablets are from Mohenjo-Dāro. An inference is that the miniature tablets served the same function as the copper tablets which evidence repetitive messages or sign sequences.

Many epigraphs could have been recorded only by metal-smith-fire-workers.

This classification provides a clue as to the function served by many inscriptions: inscriptions on bronze implements/weapons (11) and copper tablets (135) could perhaps have been done only by a metal-smith-fire-worker. There is a reasonable inference here: many messages may relate to the "economic activity" of metal-smiths. This inference is consistent with the emergence of the Bronze Age in neighbouring civilizations which have also attested to contacts with the Sarasvatī-Sindhu civilization sites (witness, for example, the finds of cylinder seals in Bhāratīya[10] sites and the finds of "Indus" seals and artefacts in Mesopotamian sites.)

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[10] **Areas for further research: it is no coincidence that the term bhāratīya means "caster of metals" (G.)**

- Further linguistic studies to reconstruct the Proto-Bhāratīya *parole* (spoken idiom) should relate to the work of *śreṇī* (18 guilds are mentioned in *Jātakas*) and links with megalithic cultures.
- Further archaeological explorations in Sarasvatī river basin and metallurgical analysis is likely to reveal the early presence of iron-work and experimentation with alloys in Bhārat.

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- Sociological studies related to **Bhāratam Janam** (*Ṛgveda*) and **Pāñcāla** (five artisans = **Pañcakammāḷar**) will establish the pan-Bhāratīya presence of the *viśvakarmā* and *vrātya* tradition (together with *yajña* and *yoga*), also exemplified by *Śaiva Agama*, all dating back to not later than 5000 years Before Present.
- Knowledge systems of Bhārat exemplified by Vedic, *itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* texts will provide the framework for inter-relating archaeology, tradition and cultural continuum in *puṇyabhūmi* Bhārat. This calls for a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of Bhāratīya culture, based on Bhāratīya ethos and *kāla gaṇana* using planetaria software to authenticate the astronomical references in these texts. Such an approach will result in national resurgence consistent with the tradition which postulates study of *itihāsa* to achieve *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*.

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List of Languages and Abbreviations

The languages of the linguistic area and the abbreviations used are as follows:

A.	Assamese	Sant.	Santālī (Muṇḍā)
Ap.	Apabhraṃśa	Sh.	Shina (Ṣiṇā. Dardic)
Ash.	Ashkun (Aṣkū—Kafiri)	Si.	Sinhalese
Aw.	Awadhī	Sik.	Sikalgārī (Mixed Gypsy Language: LSI xi 167)
B.	Bengali (Baṅglā)		

Bal.	Balūcī (Iranian)
Bashg.	Bashgalī (Kafiri)
BCE.	Before Common Era (BC)
Bel.	Belari
Bhoj.	Bhojpurī
Bi.	Bihārī
Br.	Brāhuī
Brj.	Brajbhāṣā
Bshk.	Bashkarīk (Dardic)
Bur.	Burushaski
CE.	Common Era (AD)
Chil.	Chilīs (Dardic)
D.	Ḍumāki
Dm.	Damēḍī (Kafiri-Dardic)
G.	Gujarātī
Ga.	Gadba
Garh.	Garhwālī
Gau.	Gauro (Dardic)
Gaw.	Gawar-Bati (Dardic)
Gmb.	Gambīrī (Kafiri)
Go.	Goṇḍī
Gy.	Gypsy or Romani
H.	Hindī
Ir.	Iruḷa
K.	Kāśmīrī
Ka.	Kannaḍa
Kaf.	Kafiri
Kal.	Kalasha (Dardic)
Kand.	Kandia (Dardic)
Kaṭ.	Kaṭārqalā (Dardic)
Kho.	Khowār (Dardic)
Khot.	Khotanese (Iranian)
Kmd.	Kāmdeshi (Kafiri)
Ko.	Kota
Koḍ.	Koḍagu (Coorg)
Koh.	Kohistānī (Dardic)
Kol.	Kolami
Kon.	Koṅkaṇī
	Konḍa
Kor.	Koraga
Kt.	Kati or Katei (Kafiri)
Ku.	Kumaunī
Kui	
Kurub.	Beṭṭa Kuruba
Kur.	Kuṛux (Oraon, Kurukh)
	Kuwi
L.	Lahndā
M.	Marāṭhī
Ma.	Malayalam
Mai.	Maiyā̃ (Dardic)
Malt.	Malto
Mālw.	Mālwāī
Manḍ.	Manḍa
Marw.	Mārwārī
Md.	Maldivian dialect of Sinhalese
MIA.	Middle Indo-Āryan
Mj.	Munjī (Iranian)
Mth.	Maithilī
Mu.	Muṇḍāri (Muṇḍa)
N.	Nepāli
	Nahali
Niṅg.	Niṅgalāmi (Dardic)
Nk.	Naikṛi (dialect of Kolami = LSI, Bhili of Basim; Naiki of Chanda)
OIA.	Old Indo-Aryan
Or.	Oriyā
P.	Punjābī (Pajābī)
Pa.	Parji
	Pali
Pah.	Pahāṛī
PāKu.	Pālu Kurumba
Paś.	Paśai (Dardic)
Pe.	Pengo
Phal.	Phalūṛa (Dardic)
Pkt.	Prakrit
S.	Sindhī

Skt.	Sanskrit
Sv.	Savi (Dardic)
Ta.	Tamil
Te.	Telugu
Tir.	Tirāhī (Dardic)
To.	Toda
Tor.	Tōrwālī (Dardic)
Tu.	Tulu
U.	Urdu
Werch.	Werchikwār or Wershik-wār (Yasin dialect of Burushaski)
Wg.	Waigalī or Wai-alā (Kafiri)
Wkh.	Wakhi (Iranian)
Woṭ.	Woṭapūrī (language of Woṭapūr and Kaṭārqalā. Dardic)
WPah.	West Pahāṛi

Abbreviations used for Linguistic Categories and other Languages

LANGUAGES, EPIGRAPHS

Aś.	Aśokan inscriptions
Austro-As.	Austro-Asiatic (cf. Munda)
BHSkt.	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Newhaven, 1953)
Dard.	Dardic
Dhp.	Gāndhārī or north-west Prākṛt (as recorded in the Dharmapada ed. J. Brough, Oxford 1962)
Drav.	Draviḍian
IA.	Indo-Āryan
IE.	Indo-European
Ind.	Indo-Āryan of India proper excluding Kafiri and Dardic (as classified by R.L. Turner)
KharI.	Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions; Middle Indo-Āryan forms occurring in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. II Pt. I, Calcutta, 1929
MIA.	Middle Indo-Āryan
NiDoc.	Language of "Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan" ed. A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson, and E. Senart
Ar.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Arm.	Armenian
Av.	Avestan (Iranian)
E.	English
Gk.	Greek
Goth.	Gothic
Ishk.	Ishkāshmī (Iranian)
Kurd.	Kurdish (Iranian)
Lat.	Latin
Lith.	Lithuanian

OHG.	Old High German
Orm.	Ōrmuṛī (Iranian)
OSlav.	Old Slavonic
Par.	Parācī (Iranian)
Pahl.	Pahlavi (Iranian)
Pers.	Persian (Iranian)
Port.	Portuguese
Pr.	Prasun (Kafiri)
Psht.	Pashto (Iranian)
Tib.	Tibetan
Toch.	Tocharian
Turk.	Turkish
Yid.	Yidgha (Iranian)

Abbreviations : Grammatical

*	hypothetical
<	(is) derived from
>	(has) become
?	doubtful
X	influenced by
+	extended by
~	parallel with
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
caus.	causative
cent.	century
cf.	confer (compare)
cmpd.	compound(ed)
com.	commentary, *ṭīkā*
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
dist. fr.	distinct from
du.	dual
E.	East
e.g.	example
etym.	etymology
expr.	expression
f./fem.	feminine
fig.	figuratively
fr.	from
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
hon.	honorific
id.	idem (having the same meaning)
imper.	imperative
incl.	including
inf.	infinitive
inj.	injunctive
inscr.	inscription
lex.	lexicographical works or Kośas
lit.	literature
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
M	Middle
metath.	metathesis (of)
N	North
Na.	Nāci Nāṭu usage
Naut.	Nautical
nom.	nominative

nom. prop.	nomen proprium (proper name)	Pudu.	Pudukkottai usage
		redup.	reduplicated
num.	numeral(s)	ref.	reference(s)
NW	North-west	S	South
O	Old	sb./ subst.	substantive
obl.	oblique case		
onom.	onomatopoeic	semant.	semantically
p.	page	st.	stem
part.	participle	subj.	subjunctive
pass.	passive	syn.	synonym
perf.	perfect	Tinn.	Tinnevelly usage
perh.	perhaps	Tj.	Tanjore usage
phonet.	phonetically	usu.	usual(ly)
pl.	plural	Vaiṣṇ.	Vaiṣṇava usage
pp.	past participle (passive)	vb.	verb
pres.	present	viz.	videlicet (namely)
pron.	pronoun	W	West

Abbreviations and References to Hieroglyphs and Text Transcripts

m	Mohenjo-Dāro
h	Harappā

ABCDE at the end of a reference number indicate side numbers of an inscribed object. Multiple seal impressions on the same object are numbered 1 to 4.

At the end of the reference number:

"a" sealing; "bangle" inscription on bangle or bangle fragment; other objects: shell, ivory stick, ivory plaque, ivory cube, faience ornament, steatite ornament; "ct" copper tablet; "Pict-"Pictorial motifs (0 to 145) described as illustrations of field-symbols in Appendix III of Mahadevan corpus (pp. 793 to 813); "it" inscribed tablet; "si" seal impression; "t" tablet.

Diacritical marks used:

The Kyoto-Harvard convention is NOT used since (1) it does not provide for pronunciation of many lexemes in languages such as Tamil and Malayālam and (2) the intermingling of English words with Indian language words will distort the representation of capital letters and is not easy to read.

The standard diacritical marks are deployed but, instead of ligaturing them on top and bottom of the alphabet, the diacritical marks FOLLOW immediately after the vowel or consonant which is modified. For example, *ā* connotes "long a," *ṇ* connotes retroflex N. After the UNICODE is standardized, the next edition will display the modified codes for ease of representation on web pages on the internet.

a	rut, at	ṃ	mum
ā/	law	ṅ	king
ā̃	long	ñ	nyet
/ā	un-	h-/ḵ	what
i	it	c	change
ī	bee	ç	so
ī̃	been	d	then
/ī	in	ḍ	dot
u	you	ḷ	rivalry
ū/	ooze	ṇ	and
ū̃	boon	n-	new
/ŭ	june	r̥	curl
e	bet	ṛ	rug
ē	ate	r̤	(zsh)
ē̃	bane	s	fuse
/ē	when, whey	ṣ	shut
o	obese	ś	sugar
ō	note	t	both
ō̃	bone, one	ṭ	too

i. Alternatives homonyms: ***bar, barea*** "two" (Santali); rebus: ***bāṛiā*** = shopkeeper, pedlar (Santali)

ii. **Upside down, birth**

puṭṭha = upside down, having the face downward (P.lex.).

puṭṭu = birth, origin; progeny (Ka.).

Depicting *kamar sālā* (blacksmith's workshop) or, *saloi kamar* = a kind of blacksmith (perhaps, knife grinder) [***sala*** = afterbirth, *kamar*].

[Note the glyph of a woman with spread thighs and something (placenta? menses? dead foetus?) emanating from the womb].

sāl afterbirth (N.); cause of pain (G.); dead foetus in womb (M.); *hal* = afterbirth (K.); *śalya* = anything lodged in the body and causing pain (applied to dead foetus)(Suśr.); *salla* = thorn in body (Pkt.)(CDIAL 12332).

Some glyphs on Text 4304, rebus:

Alternative 1: ***kuṭṭār, kuṭār*** = corn without grains (Go.); *kuṭā* = chaff (Kur.)(DEDR 1665). *kuta* = jowari stubble (Go.); *guṭṭu* = stubble of paddy (Pe.)(DEDR 1676). **khuṭṭa, *khuṇṭa* (CDIAL 3893, 3746). *gundli* = a cultivated millet, panicum miliare (Santali.lex.) Rebus: ***kuṭhāru*** = armourer, writer (Skt.).

Alternative 2: ***kōli*** a stubble of *jōḷa* (Ka.); ***kōle*** = a stub or stump of corn (Te.)(DEDR 2242). *kol, kolhe* = an aboriginal tribe of iron smelters speaking a language akin to that of the Santals (Santali.lex.) ***kol*** "metal" (Ta.).

Pictorial motif on side b of tablet h180: a woman with legs spread out, accent on pubes: ***kuṭhi***; rebus: ***kuṭhi*** = a furnace for smelting iron ore].

iii. Other homonyms: ***ḍhoṇḍ*** = a big wood pigeon (P.lex.).

dondhoṛo, dondkoṛo squatting, cowering, sitting close to the ground (Santali).

ḍoṇḍo polled, as an ox or buffalo (G.).

ḍoṇḍobot to salute by bowing down (Santali).

ḍondor a cave, *den; doṇḍhor* a hole, a hollow; *ḍoḍhio* hollow; *ḍoḍhor* a hole, a hollow; a cavity, hollow (Santali).

ḍoṇṭho, dhoṇṭho, dhoṇṭo a knot (Santali).

doḍo = an ear of corn (G.lex.).

dhoṇḍra khalak a large leaf cup; *ḍhoṅga* "a dugout, a boat made from a hollowed out tree, a wooden trough" (Santali) *don* "a wooden trough" (Santali).

iv. ***nakaḷ-tal*** to creep, crawl along (***Kamparā. Atikā. 136***)(Ta.) (Ta.lex.) ***nāga, nāgara, āgala*** a snake, especially the coluber or *cobra capella* (Ka.)(Ka.lex.) ***nāga*** snake (ŚBr.NiDoc.); ***ṇīya*** (Pkt.); ***nay, nā, nayā*** snake (Si.); ***nāgādanta*** elephant tusk, ivory snake-shaped tusk (Skt.); ***nīga*** (Pali); ***ṇāya*** (Pkt.); ***n*** (Gypsy); ***naa*** euphem. term for snake (Or.); ***nāng*** (Bshk.); ***non.*** (Kt.Pr.); ***nhoṇ*** name of a god (Kal.)[Pers. ***nahang***](CDIAL 7039). ***nākam*** cobra (***Maṇi. 25,195***); serpent (***Kamparī. Kalankāṇ.*** 37)(Ta.)(Ta.lex.) ***śiś unāka*** young snake (R.); young elephant (Skt.); ***susvāl.*** crocodile (G.)(CDIAL 12477).

v. Alternative homonyms: *tebṛa* = three (Santali).

tāmbum = copper (G.); *tāmra* (Skt.); *tāmbā nāṇum* = copper coin; *tāmbā vāḍako* = a porringer made of copper; *tāmbā kuṇḍī* a copper trough in which water for bathing is kept; *tāmbaḍī* = a copper pot (G.).

vi. ***kuṃta*** spear (Pkt.); ***kundu*** spike of a top (S.); ***kundī*** spike at the bottom of a stick (S.); ***kundiṛī, kundirī*** spike of a spear or stick (S.); ***kutu*** lance (Si); ***konta*** standard (Pali); ***koṃta*** spear (Pkt.); ***kõt*** spear, dart (H.); ***kota*** spear, spire, standard (Si.)(CDIAL 3289). Perh. Greek ***kontos*** spear. ***kauntika*** a spearman, lancer; ***kunta*** a lance (Skt.lex.) ***kuntam kunta*** javelin for throwing; barbed dart (***Cīvaka*. 1678**); spear, lance (***Pu. Ve.*** 4,7); pike, stake (***Mullaip*. 41**)(Ta.lex.) ***kunta, konta*** = a lance, spear (Ka.lex.) kundena, ***kundi*** = a barbed dart (Te.lex.) kuntam = spear (Ta.lex.)***kund-*** **(*kunt-*)** to punch with fist, pierce with spear (Pe.); ***kutkahā*** to strike one another with fists (Pe.); ***kut-*** to push with fist (Mand.); ***kund-*** **(*kunt-*)** to pierce, prod (Mand.); ***kuta*** **(*kuti-*)** to prick; ***ṇ*** act of pricking (Kui); ***kuttinai*** to stab, stitch; ***kut-*** **(*-it-*)** to prick (Kuwi); ***xutting*** to dig, probe (Br.)(DEDR 1719). ***khŭcānā*** to prick (B.); ***khŭci*** inserting new thatch in old (B.); ***khŭcvŭ*** to pierce (G.); ***khŭc*** indentation (G.)(CDIAL 3890). ***khoṛaṇu*** to drive into (S.)(CDIAL 3802).

vii. *kuṭṭam* depth, pond (Ta.); *kuṭṭ* a large pit (Kui); *kuṇḍa* pit, round hole in ground for sacred fire (Skt.)(DEDR 1669). *kuṇḍa* a reservoir of water surrounded with steps to go down to the bottom (G.) ***kũṇḍ*** a pit, a pitfall, a hot spring; norok *kũṇḍ* hell

(Santali) *koṇḍ, koṇḍā*, pit (Kon.); *kuṇḍa, koṇḍa* = a hole in the ground, a pit (Ka.); *koṇḍabaṇḍi* = a cart used at the *koṇḍa* feast; *koṇḍahabba* = a feast in honour of Vīrabhadra at which Liṅgavantas carry an idol of Vīrabhadra and dance with it on live coals in a pit (Ka.); *kuṇḍa* = a pit, especially of sacrificial fire; *koṇḍa* = a pit, hole; *tūtakoṇḍa* = a fire-pit (Tu.); *koṇḍupāruni* to run away with; *koṇḍupōpini* = to take away, convey; *koṇḍubarpini* = to bring; *koṇḍopini, koṇopini* id. (Tu.lex.).

viii. *karmakāra* = labourer (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: *kārukarma* = artisan's work (*Arthaśāstra* : 2.14.17); *karmānta* = a workshop or factory (*Arthaśāstra* : 2.12.18, 23 and 27, 2.17.17, 2.19.1, 2.23.10). ***kamaru*** to be singed, burnt or scorched (by the sun, by fire)(Ka.); *kamaru, kamuru, kamalu* (Te.); *kamarike, kamarige* = the state of being singed, etc.; *kamaru, kanaru, kamara, kamuṭu, kavuṭu, kavuru, gavulu* = id. (Ka.) (Ka.lex.) ***kamar*** = a blacksmith; *rana kamar*, the ordinary blacksmith in the country (*rana* is their caste or tribal name); *saloi kamar*, a kind of blacksmith. *Kamar kami mit bar hoṛko cet akata* = a few Santals have learnt blacksmith work (Santali. Bodding). *Kambru* = a blacksmith; *ale ṭhen bar oṛak kambru menakkoa* = two families of blacksmiths live with us; *kambru ṭhene sen akana* = he has gone to the blacksmith (Santali.Bodding). ***karuman, karumakan*** blacksmith (Ta.lex.) ***kammam*** = *kammiyar toṛil* (i.e., work of *kammiyar* or *kammāḷar*: *kannār, kollar, ciṛpar, taccar, taṭṭār*); *kammiyanūl* = *cir-panūl*, i.e., book of sculpture (Ta.lex.) ***kammara*** = the blacksmith or ironsmith caste; *kammaramu* = the blacksmith's work, working in iron, smithery; *kammaravāḍu, kammari, kammarīḍu* = a blacksmith, ironsmith (Te.lex.) *kammaṛa, kammagāṛa* = blacksmith (Ka.lex.); *kammāḷa* = an artisan, an artificer; a blacksmith, a goldsmith (Ka.Ta.Ma.); a goldsmith (Ka.lex.) ***kammara*** = the blacksmith or ironsmith caste; *kammaramu* = the blacksmith's work, working in iron, smithery; *kammaravāḍu, kammari, kammarīḍu* = a blacksmith, ironsmith (Te.lex.) ***kambāṛa*** = blacksmith; *kambāṛike, kammāṛike* = a blacksmith's business (Ka.lex.) *kamār* (Or. *kamhār*, toil) syn. of ***baṛae***, blacksmith. This term seems to be applied especially to the blacksmiths of Gangpur, who, though of Muṇḍarī race like the lohars of Biru, Barway and other Oraon parts, are considered outcasts by the latter because they use tanned hides for their bellows. (Mundari.lex.) *kambru* = a blacksmith. *Ale ṭhen bar oṛak kambru menakkoa* = two families of blacksmiths live with us; *kambru ṭhene sen akana* = he has gone to the blacksmith (Santali.lex.Bodding) ***kambru guru*** = the reputed original teacher of the *ojhās*, a mythical teacher of charms and incantations, as also of medicine. Acc. To one form of the Santal traditions the person who taught the women witchcraft was *Kambru*; acc. To another, it was *Maran buru*. It is not possible to decide whether there has been an old sage of this name; or whether it should be understood as a person from Kāmrūp; the Santal traditions may be understood both ways (Santali.lex. Bodding). *kamar* = a blacksmith, a semi-Hinduized caste; *kolhe kamar*, a Kolhe blacksmith and iron-smelter; *lohar kamar*, a caste of blacksmiths that live more in conformity with Hindu caste rules (do not eat meat, do not drink beer; rare in the Santal country); *rana kamar*, the ordinary blacksmiths in the country (rana is their caste or tribal name); *saloi kamar*, a kind of blacksmith. *Kamar kami mit bar hoṛko cet akata* = a few Santals have learnt blacksmith work. The rule among the Santals is that a village (or several villages) keep a blacksmith who does all repairs to agricultural implements free of charge, but receives twenty seers of paddy and one winnowing-fan full of Indian corn cobs and two sheaves of pady for each plough; to make a ploughshare he is paid for the iron; to put teeth on a sickle he gets two seers of paddy, and he is also paid half a seer of rice from each house at the Sohrae. He is paid for whatever else he makes new; *kara era*, the wife of a blacksmith (Desi *kamar*; H. *karmkār*; B. *kāmār*); *kamari* = the work of a blacksmith, pay for such work (Santali.lex.) *karmāruḍu* a blacksmith, an artisan (Te.lex.) *kamarsārī* smithy (Mth.); *kamarsak̲yar* (Bi.)(CDIAL 2899). 2104.*Workshop*: ***kamhala*** workshop (Si.); *kammala* smithy (Si.); *kammasālā* (Pkt.); *karmaśālā* workshop (*Mbh.*)(CDIAL 2896). cf. *karuman*, *karumakan* blacksmith (Ta.lex.) *Blacksmith; labourer*: *kamarsārī* smithy (Mth.); *kamarsāyar* id. (Bi.)(CDIAL 2899). *karuman* blacksmith (Ta.); *karu-makan-id*. (Kamparā. Pampā. 37)(Ta.lex.) ***karmāra*** blacksmith (*ṚV*); ***kammāra*** worker in metal (Pali); *kammāra*, *kammāraya* blacksmith (Pkt.); *kamār* (A.); *kāmār* (B.); *kamāra* blacksmith, caste of non-Āryans, caste of fishermen (Or.); *kamār* blacksmith (Mth.); *kaṃburā* (Si.)(CDIAL 2898). *karmakṛt* performing work, skilful in work (*AV*); one who has done any work (Pāṇ.); workman (Skt.); *kaṃbuḷa* doing menial work (Si.)(CDIAL 2891). *karmakāra* doing work without wages (Kāś.); *karmakāraka* one who does any work (Pāṇ.); *kammakāra* hired labourer, workman (Pali); *kammagāra* servant (Pkt.); *kammāriyā* female servant or slave (Pkt.); *kāmar* slave (Sv.); *kamārā* servant (L.); *kamāro* slave (Ku.N.)(CDIAL 2888). *karmakara* workman, hired labourer (*Mbh.*); *kammakara* (Pali); *kammayara* servant (Pkt.); *kamerā* hired labourer (H.); *kaṃburanavā* to serve as a menial or slave (Si.)(CDIAL 2887). *karmakārāpayati* causes to work as a servant (Skt.); *kamārāiṇu* to cause to work (S.)(CDIAL 2889). *kārma* active, laborious (Pāṇ.); *kamma* connected with work (Pkt.); *kāmu*, *kāmo* slave (K.); *kāmmā̃*, *kāmā* farm servant (P.); *kāmā*, *kāmo* servant (WPah.)(CDIAL 3074). kārmika engaged in action, name of a partic. Buddhist sect (Yāj.); *Public officer*: kāmā public officer (S.); servant (WPah.)(CDIAL 3076). *Work*: *karman* act, work (*ṚV*); *kamma* (Pali); ***kramaṃ***, *kramane*, *kaṃma* (Aś.); *kama* (NiDoc.Si.); *kamman*, *kamma*, *kammā* (Pkt.); *kam* work, esp. smith"s work (Gypsy); *gām* (ShuṃGaw.Bshk.); *kam* (Woṭ.K.); *krum* (Kal.); *korum* (*obl.* kormo)(Kho.); *kam* work, thing, booty (Gypsy); *kām* (Mai.Tor.Ku.); id. (N.A.B.Mth.Bhoj. H.Marw. G.M.); *keram* (Sv.); *krom* (Sh.Ḍ.); *kom* (Sh.); *komu* (K.); *kamu* (S.); *kamm* (L.P.WPah.); *kāma* (Or.Konkaṇi); *kāmu* (Aw.); *kāmŭ* an office, administration (G.); *krem*, *kam*, *klem* (Ash.); *ṣlam* (Ash.Wg.); *kram* (Dm.Tir.Phal.); *lām*, *ṣam*, *kuṛūm*, *gām*, *plom* (Paś.)(CDIAL 2892). *Fatigue*: *śrama labour* (*ṚV*); fatigue (ŚBr.AV.); *sama* fatigue (Pali); *samaṃ* energy (Aś.); *sama* fatigue, effort (Pkt.); *seŭ* worry (WPah.); *meheya*, *mēya* work, service (Si.)(CDIAL 12683). *sammati* is weary (Pali); *śramyati* is tired (*ṚV*); *sammai* (Pkt.); *śamūna* to become tired (D.); *ṣomoiki*, *ṣomōnu* (Sh.)(CDIAL 12693). *santa* tired (Pali); *śranta* wearied (*ṚV*); *saṃta* (Pkt.); *śāndṇu* to tire (WPah.)(CDIAL 12692). *Labourer*: *kāmaṭh*, *kāmīṭ* busy, diligent (M.); *karmiṣṭha* very active (Skt.)(CDIAL 2901). *kamāṭhī*, *kameṭhī* beating (P.)(CDIAL 2890). *kāmāṭṭi* labourer, one who works with a hoe, digger of earth (Ta.Ma.); *kāmāṭi* (Te.Ka.); *kāmāṭe* (Tu.); *kāmāṭhi* (M.)(Ta.lex.) *kamaveti* causes to work, works (NiDoc.); *kammāvēi* earns, works (Pkt.); *kamā̃wun* to work, earn, smelt (metal)(K.); *kamāiṇu* to work, earn, slaughter (S.); *kamāvaṇ* to work, earn (L.); *kamāuṇā* (P.); *kumāṇā* (WPah.); *kamūṇo* to work, cultivate (Ku.); *kamāunu* (N.); *kāmāna* to earn, shave (B.)[cf. *kammai* does barber's work (Pkt.); *kramoīki* to use, employ, spend (Sh.)(CDIAL 2894)]; *kamāiba* to work, earn (Or.); *kamāeb* to serve, weed (a field)(Mth.); *kamāvai* earns (OAw.); *kamānā* (H.); *kamāvvū̆* to help to earn (G.); *kamāvū̆* to earn (G.); *kamāviṇē̃* (M.)(CDIAL 2897). *kramōnu* hardworking; labourer, farmer (Sh.); *kamuṇa* artisan (Si.)(CDIAL 2893). *krāmīn* low-caste labourer such as a Ḍom (Sh.); *karmīṇa* competent (ŚBr.); *kamīṇ* labourer (man or woman)(WPah.); *kāmiṇā* labourer (MB.) (CDIAL 2902). *kammika* overseer (Pali) *kammi, kammia* industrious; evil-doer (Pkt.); *kīyema* blacksmith (Pr.); *kīma* slave (Pr.); *kamī* labourer (S.); *kammī* village labourer, menial (L.P.); *kāmi* blacksmith (N.); *kāmī* day labourer (Or.); industrious (H.M.); *kāmiā* servant who works in order to repay the interest on money borrowed by his master (Or.); *kamiyā* agricultural labourer who works on advances (Bi.); *kāmiyā* labourer (H.); *kami* artificer (OSi.); *kamiyā* worker (Si.); *kāmiṇi* female labourer (Or.); *kamyulu* farm labourer who lives in (K.); *kamilo* ant (N.); *kamilā* useful (A.)(CDIAL 2900). ***kāmāṭī*** a caste of Hindus who are generally labourers and palanquin bearers (G.); *komaṭī* (M.)(G.lex.) *kāmāṭa* = labour or work (for wages)(Ka.); *kāmāṭi, kāmāṭa* = a day-labourer (Ka.M.Te.Ma.Ta.); a house-servant (M.).

ix. ***tamba*** = copper; *tambaṛa* = a copper coloured gem of inferior value; a copper vessel with a wide mouth; *tambesar, tamesar* = a variety of copper; *tabitia* = one who writes amulets (P.lex.) ***tāmbum*** = copper; *tāmbaḍī* = a copper pot (G.lex.) ***tāmbra, tāmbara*** = copper (Ka.lex.) ***tāmra*** copper; a coppery red colour, made of copper (VS 16.6 *tāmro aruṇah*) (Vedic.lex.) ***tamba*** = copper; tamro = a precious stone (Santali.lex.) ***tambabica***, copper-ore stones (Mundari.lex.) ***tamba*** red, copper (Pali); ***tamba*** adj. and n. (Pkt.); ***tambira*** copper, red coloured (Pkt.); ***trām*** copper (K.); ***tambā*** (Or.)(CDIAL 5779). ***tamauṭe, tamoṭe*** = coppersmith (N.)(CDIAL 5781). ***tamheṛā*** = brass-founder (Bi.); ***tamheṛī*** round copper vessel (Bi.)(CDIAL 5781, 5782). ***tāmbarā*** coppersmith (Or.)(CDIAL 5780). ***tābulu*** a tinsel; the cut as of a precious stone; ***tābulu kāji*** an artistic bangle; ***tāmbāṇo*** a metallic dish (Tu.lex.) ***tāmbṭi*** coppersmith (Kon.lex.) cf. ***tampiṭi, tampaṭi damri*** (H.) cash, a small coin = 1/12 *anna* (Ta.lex.) cf. ***damaḍī damaḍi, dammaḍi*** a *kāsu*, the fourth part of a *duḍḍu* or *paisa* (Ka.); ***damaḍī*** (M.H.)(Ka.lex.) *tambige, cembige, tambagi, tambuge* = *kamaṭha, kalaśa, kuṭa, cambu*, a water-pot (Ka.); id. (Te.); cf. *tāmraka* (Ka.lex.) *tāmraka* = copper; *tāmrika* = made of copper (Skt.); *tāmbra* = *tāmbara* Tbh. of *tāmra*; *tāmrakuṭṭaka* = a brazier or coppersmith (Ka.lex.) ***tabuku*** = a tray, slaver, plate, platter (Te.lex.) *tāmarasa* = red lotus (*Mbh.*); lotus (Pkt.); copper (Skt.)(CDIAL 5774). *tāmra* copper (Kauś.); *tāmraka* copper (Yāj.); *tām* copper (Bshk.); *tāmba* copper (Phal.); *tāmbā* copper (Sh.); *trām* copper (K.Sh.); *ṭrāmo* copper (S.); *trāmā, tarāmā̃* (L.); *tāmbā* (P.); *ṭḷām* (WPah.); *tā̃bō*(WPah.); *tāmo* pl. young bamboo shoots (N.); *tām* (A.); *tā̃bā, tāmā* (B.); *tambā* (Or.); *tām, tāmā* (Mth.); *tāmā* (Bhoj.); *tām* in compounds, *tā̃b, tāmā* (H.); *trā̃bū̆, tā̃bū̆* (G.); *tā̃bē̃* (M.); *tāmbe* copper (Koṅkaṇī); *tama, tam* copper (Si.)(CDIAL 5779). *cāmba*, cambo copper (WPah.) (CDIAL 5779). *tāram* a copper coin, 12 pice of 13 fanam (Ma.); *tāra* a copper coin of 2 *kāsu* (Ka.); two pie (Tu.)(DEDR 3168). *teb* copper (To.); *cambu, cembu, combu* copper (Ka.); *cembi* copper (Koḍ.); *cembu* brass, copper (Tu.); *cempu* copper (Ma.); copper, gold (Ta.)(DEDR 2775). *Copper, red: cempan-* brown-coloured cow or bull (Ta.)(DEDR

2775). *tambavan* copper-coloured, dark red (Si.); *tāmravarṇa* copper-coloured (TÅr.)(CDIAL 5790). *tāmrapaṭṭa* copper plate (for inscribing)(Yāj.); *tāmrāpattra* id. (Skt.); *tā̃boṭī* piece of copper of shape and size of a brick (M.); tamot^{i} copper plate (Ku.)(CDIAL 5786-7). *Coppersmith*: *tāmbarā* coppersmith (Or.)(CDIAL 5780). *tamauṭe*, *tamoṭe* coppersmith (N.); *tāmrakuṭṭa* coppersmith (R.)(CDIAL 5781). *tamheṛā* brass-founder (Bi.)(CDIAL 5783).

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